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# USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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16 December 1985

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ARMS CONTROL

FRG PHYSICIANS END MAINZ ANTIWAR CONGRESS

LD032119 Moscow TASS in English 1915 GMT 3 Nov 85

[Text] Mainz November 3 TASS--TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulbitskiy reporting.

An anti-war congress organized by the West German section of the influential international organization "World Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War" drew to a close here today. Over 4,000 medical personnel, political and public figures attended that major forum which lasted for four days. The delegates unanimously passed a statement which highly praises the Soviet peace initiatives, particularly, the Soviet Union's decision to stop unilaterally all nuclear explosions.

"Forty years after the barbarous American atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki," says the statement issued by the anti-war congress, "nuclear arsenals which can cause explosions with a yield millions of times bigger than that of the first American atomic bombs dropped on the Japanese cities have been accumulated in the world. The progressive members of the medical profession in West Germany demand an immediate termination of the testing and development of new types of such weapons as the first and the most important step along the road of curbing the dangerous race in nuclear arms.

"This is why we whole-heartedly welcome the decision of the Soviet Union to institute a unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions. At the same time we urge the present U.S. administration to follow the example of the U.S.S.R. urgently and unconditionally, and to join in the Soviet moratorium", the statement stresses. The delegates to the congress rejected all of Washington's false arguments with the use of which it tried to discredit that far-reaching proposals of the U.S.S.R. "At the present time the termination of nuclear weapon tests lends itself to verification. The moratorium is unacceptable only to those who are striving for unilateral advantages," the statement says.

During the work of the international anti-war congress the delegates wrathfully condemned the "star wars" plans developed by the United States. This is reflected in the statement passed by the congress. The notorious U.S. "Strategic Defense Initiative", the statement says, is not defensive in character. It leads only to further intensification of the dangerous arms race and its spread to outer space. This is why we urge the government of West

Germany to bring pressure to bear on its NATO allies in order to make the U.S. immediately stop the realization of the SDI and to renounce West Germany's participation in that sinister program, the statement stresses.

"The anti-war congress in Mainz has shown that an increasing number of physicians and medical workers in West Germany intend to do everything within their capabilities to achieve disarmament and detente, to curb the arms race", Til Bastian, the leader of the West Germany section of the international organization "World Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War", told the TASS correspondent in an interview.

Touching on the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit meeting, Til Bastian noted that the U.S.S.R. had already demonstrated its striving for peace, for construction accords in Geneva. "Now it's the turn of the United States to meet the demands of the world public and the Soviet Union, and to renounce its dangerous plans of militarizing space, for move [as received] that would be in the best interests of all humankind."

The congress decided that the next such meeting of West German physicians working for peace and disarmament would be held in Cologne next May.

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WORLDWIDE TOPICS

COOPERATION OF COMMUNISTS, SOCIAL DEMOCRATS CONSIDERED

Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN in Russian No 15, Aug 85 (signed to press 23 Jul 85)  
pp 74-77

[Article by T. Timofeyev, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Workers' Movement, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member: "Against Militarism and Reaction and for the Unification of all Democratic Forces; on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the 7th Comintern Congress"]

[Text] This year the peoples of the world, the communist and worker movements and all progressive people on earth turn their thoughts, again and again, to the 40th anniversary of the great victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism. The Soviet Union played a decisive role in the liberation of mankind from fascist slavery. The victory was won through the joint efforts of the peoples and armies of the members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, the partisans, the resistance fighters, the antifascists, the democrats and the patriots, and millions of fighters for freedom.

The appeal "To the Peoples, Parliaments and Governments of All Countries," issued on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II by the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers, emphasizes the importance of the movement of people of good will in different countries and continents who, regardless of different ideological and political views, acted in a single front against fascism. Today as well, the cohesion among peoples could erect a powerful obstacle on the path of imperialism, of those who are pushing the world to nuclear catastrophe. Today the forces of peace and progress are incomparably stronger than those of reaction and aggression.

The accurate orientation of the communist parties was one of the important prerequisites for the unification of the democratic and peace-loving forces within a broad coalition. This was the line which, in the final account, led to the defeat of fascism. The decisions of the 7th Comintern Congress, which defined the proper scientific strategy and effective tactics in the struggle against fascism and for the implementation of the immediate and long-range objectives of the communist and worker movements, were of tremendous importance to them.

The 7th Comintern Congress, which was held in Moscow in August 1935, became the biggest forum of its time of the international communist movement and a significant event in its history. It was attended by 513 delegates representing 65 communist parties and many international organizations. It proved the ideological and organizational maturity of the communist parties and the powerful creative power of the collective mind of the world communist movement. It made a profound scientific class study of the situation in the world arena and the comprehensive experience acquired in the struggle waged by the communist parties in different countries and, on this basis, formulated essentially new conclusions and concept governing subsequent practical activities.

The study of the class nature and basic features of fascism and the creative development of the Leninist theory of the correlation between the struggle for democracy and that for socialism were the congress' richest ideological and theoretical legacy. The congress entered history as a forum of unification of the ranks of the working class, the broad toiling strata and all democratic and patriotic forces in the struggle against the threat of fascism and war and in the defense of peace and democracy. It formulated the idea of the creation of a unified worker and broad popular front.

The work and documents of the congress dialectically combined continuity with innovation inherent in creative Marxism-Leninism. Its resolutions were aimed at live organizational work among the masses and became a powerful incentive for the development of the communist parties' initiative and activeness.

The communist movement relied on the Leninist behests of the need for waging an active struggle for worker ranks unity, pursuit of an effective policy of sociopolitical alliances and energizing of mass general democratic movements. In order to attain this, many difficulties and complex problems had to be surmounted. "Nothing is easier," V. I. Lenin emphasized, "than to write the word 'unity' in yard-wide letters, promise it and 'proclaim' oneself its champion. In fact, however, unity can be promoted only through the efforts and organization of all progressive, all conscious workers.... This is not easy. It demands work, persistence and the unification of all conscious workers. Without such an effort, however, there is no point of talking about worker unity."

The success of the cause of the proletariat depends to a tremendous extent on the successful development of the joint actions of the working people. While directing the vanguard of the working class toward broadening its ties with the masses, by the mid-1930s the Comintern was developing and intensifying the idea of the united front, taking into consideration the actual shifts and objective specific historical situation and the changes which were taking place within the ranks of the worker and general democratic movements themselves. This opened new opportunities for broadening the coalition of antifascist and antiwar forces.

The communist vanguard of the international working class was the first to warn the peoples of the world against the dangers of fascism and the need to energize opposition to the attempts of the assault groups of world imperialist reaction. "It is precisely the communists," delegates to the solemn meeting



which was held at the Palace of Congresses in the Kremlin, in Moscow, on 8 May 1985, noted "who presented an efficient program for the struggle against the brown plague, while it was still embryonic."

As we know, with the growth of the general crisis of capitalism the communist movement has frequently spoken out against underestimating the danger of fascism and the role of antifascist and general democratic mass actions. The Comintern rejected the erroneous interpretations of fascism, the claim of its fictitious "above-class" nature in particular, and criticized the various bourgeois and reformist theories which were distorting the socioeconomic roots of fascism and its true political objectives.

What made this clear position assumed at the 7th Comintern Congress even more important was the fact that some state-monopoly and social democratic circles in the imperialists countries suppressed in varying degrees the fact that fascism was being encouraged by big capitalism and that it was its creation. There were those in the West, who cited the fact that supporters of fascism could be found among petty bourgeois strata as well. In other words, they confused the question of the class nature of fascism with the social composition of its mass base. This was nurtured, in particular, by the myth of fascism as being some kind of "spokesman for the interests of the middle classes" (which had spread as early as the turn of the 1930s and is still being whipped up to this day by bourgeois historiography and Western "sociological propaganda"). Nor should we fail to mention that the concealment of its true objectives and shameless social and chauvinistic demagoguery allowed fascism to attract in a number of countries the petty bourgeoisie and even some working class strata.

Unlike the various erroneous concepts, in their exposure of the socioeconomic and political nature of fascism and its objectives, the communists emphasized that fascism in power means "open terrorist dictatorship by the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialistic elements of financial capital." This politically accurate definition, which the Comintern Executive Committee provided in 1933, was confirmed and was even more profoundly and comprehensively substantiated in the documents of the 7th congress, which proved that fascism is the most serious menace threatening all mankind.

The main report to the congress, "The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Struggle for the Unity of the Working Class and Against Fascism," which was delivered by G. Dimitrov, and the other reports and speeches of the delegates provided a profound and meaningful characterization of German fascism as the tool of monopoly capital the most reactionary variety of fascism and the "iron fist of the international counterrevolution." The conclusion drawn at the congress was subsequently fully confirmed by real events: the fact that in domestic policy fascism was an organization set up to deal with the communists and all progressive forces through terrorism and that in foreign policy, it was chauvinism in its coarsest form, and hatred and destruction of other peoples.

The communists were the leading sociopolitical force which was able accurately to assess the scale of the developing threat and, at the same time, to point



out the real ways and trends in the struggle against fascism and the war it was preparing. The 7th congress heard a special report presented by P. Togliatti (Ercoli) "On the Tasks of the Communist International in Connection of the New World War Being Prepared by the Imperialists." Proceeding from the fact that German fascism was the main warmonger, the forum indicated the need to relate most closely the struggle against war to that against fascism. "Fascism means war," its documents stressed.

On the basis of a profound study of the situation, the congress noted that the main slogan of the communist parties must be that of "Struggle for Peace," and that the dangerous plans of the fascists for unleashing a war had to be thwarted. It was pointed out that the struggle for peace reflects the aspiration of the peoples and the vital interests of all mankind. Henceforth, it was based not only on the resolve of the working class and working people in different countries to prevent war but also on the peaceable policy of the Soviet Union, the first socialist country in the world. At a time when the fascist aggressors were openly following the path to war, unlike the Western countries the Soviet Union steadfastly continued to pursue a policy of peace and of the political organization of collective resistance to the aggressor and support of the peoples which had fallen victim to aggression.

The congress stated that after the Great October Socialist Revolution the victory of socialism in the USSR was the next most important historical victory of the proletariat over global capitalism. The delegates noted that this victory marked a most important shift in the ratio of forces in the world arena in favor of socialism and proved to millions of workers and working people in all countries the insurmountable strength of socialism.

In directing the proletariat and its allies toward increasing their resistance to fascism and perfecting the means and methods of struggle against it (taking changes in the objective situation into consideration), the communists took steps to energize the mass antifascist actions in the various capitalist countries. The refining of the political line of the communist movement by the congress was of great importance. The forum emphasized that "efforts to create a broad popular antifascist front on the basis of a united proletarian front" was particularly important in mobilizing the masses in the struggle against fascism.

Communist antifascist activities developed with the intensification of the struggle against the forces of reaction and militarism, in accordance with the stipulations of the 7th Comintern Congress, maximally combining the struggle for the democratic rights of the people's masses with the struggle for the class demands of the proletariat. It was a question of having the communist movement in the capitalist countries use some new ways, means and methods of mass work, making increasingly broad toiling strata realize the need to defend their interests and gains and the importance of political change and social transformations.

Already then, in the 1930s, after the mass struggle had developed under the banners of the popular front, as was the case in Spain and France, and after antifascist actions had increased in many other countries, ideas and concepts of a new-type democracy appeared in the international workers' movement. They

were further developed in the 1940s, in the crucible the selfless battles against the occupation forces and their accomplices, battles headed by the communist and waged by the antifascists, their military formations and the partisan armies and detachments in Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, Albania and Hungary, with the participation of the resistance movement and the antifascist underground in France, Italy, Greece and other countries.

Consequently, the accurate strategic course which had been formulated at the 7th Comintern Congress was confirmed and enriched with the development of the mass antifascist progressive movements and the successful advance of the working class and its vanguard, as the ties between their struggle against fascism and the tasks of the future profound social changes of a revolutionary nature strengthened.

In addition to the elaboration of a number of important problems of political strategy and tactics, the 7th Comintern Congress paid considerable attention to matters of organizational party work. In emphasizing the importance of joint actions by the different detachments of working people and the establishment of a broad coalition of antifascist and democratic forces, the congress also pointed out that the implementation of such tasks requires not a weakening of the communist parties in the least but, conversely, the further "comprehensive strengthening of their own ranks." In other words, the congress' stipulations concerning the creation of a single workers' front and the struggle for developing a broad antifascist popular front did not mean granting ideological and political concessions of a principled nature by the communists. In noting that even under the changed circumstances the proletarian organizations had to defend their independent class positions, the Comintern leadership cautioned both against sectarian errors as well as right wing revisionist distortions of the nature of the united front policy.

Life convincingly proved the accuracy of the general line followed by the communist movement and its stipulations on the struggle for a united workers' front and the creation of a broad alliance of democratic forces. This clearly proved, once again, the leading sociohistorical role of the working class and the decisive contribution of the toiling masses and their progressive organizations in the struggle against the assault detachments of imperialist reaction. The strategy formulated at the 7th congress helped to establish a broad coalition of antifascist forces.

The international workers' movement has great experience in fighting the aggressive militaristic policy of imperialist reaction. Its rich antimilitaristic traditions were intensified during the first stage of the general crisis of capitalism by the Communist International. The 7th Comintern Congress made a valuable contribution to the development of the struggle against the threat of war. It earmarked new important approaches to problems related to the active participation of the working people and the broad toiling masses in the struggle for peace and against war.

The workers' movement took into consideration the fact that international reaction was aspiring above all to the destruction of the USSR, the first socialist state in the world. The accurate and perspicacious assessments and

stipulations of the 7th congress, which called for giving battle to fascism and the main enemy and waging a decisive struggle against the arising threat of war and for safeguarding peace, played a tremendous role in communist activities aimed at the unification of antifascist forces.

The 7th congress pointed out that the enemies of militarism, including the communists, should not remain locked within their own circles in the struggle against the threat of war. They had to involve in it anyone interested in safeguarding peace, including noncommunist workers and their organizations, peasants and peasant organizations and bourgeois democratic, pacifist and even some nondemocratic antiwar forces, giving the struggle for peace in each country a truly national nature while, at the same time, seeing to it that the movement for the prevention of war become truly worldwide.

Although at that time the efforts to establish a united antifascist front did not succeed everywhere, they did not vanish without a trace. The universal historical significance of this struggle waged by the communists was clearly manifested during World War II. Together with the other antifascist forces, the international working class played a very important role in the defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism.

Armed with the resolutions of the 7th Comintern Congress, as dedicated fighters for freedom, democracy and social progress, the communists firmly withstood the severe trials of World War II with their clear and efficient program of struggle against fascism. They set the example in following a correct political line, maintaining profound ties with their people and showing their ability to organize and head the struggle of the masses for the liberation of their countries from the foreign aggressors.

Throughout all postwar history, the international working class has waged an active struggle against militarism and revanchism and for the establishment of lasting peace on earth. The international communist, worker and general democratic movements deserve great credit for the fact that for 4 decades the forces of peace and social progress have been successfully opposing the forces of war and aggression.

Life convincingly proved that the very rich ideological and theoretical legacy of the 7th Comintern Congress successfully passed the tests of time. They were confirmed through communist practical activities and continued their further creative development. They remain relevant to this day.

Today mankind is experiencing an exceptionally important phase in global development. By the fault of the aggressive international reaction circles, the international situation remains alarming and dangerous. United States imperialism is stubbornly trying to attain military superiority over the Soviet Union and the socialist community. Washington is trying to have a free hand for an uncontrolled arms race, nuclear above all, charting a course toward "star wars" and leading the world to nuclear catastrophe. The United States is openly claiming the "right" to interfere everywhere and is frequently violating the interests of other countries and nations, traditions of international relations and existing treaties and accords. Various types of neofascist and revanchist elements are becoming energized in the West.



A new world war would be catastrophic for mankind. That is what makes urgent and effective steps to eliminate the nuclear threat from the life of the present and future generations, prevent the spreading of the arms race to space and terminating it on earth and return international relations to the track of equal and mutually profitable cooperation necessary. Such is the position held of the united communists of socialist states, which is an insurmountable force in the struggle for the peaceful future of mankind.

It is precisely concern for the preservation of peace on earth that dictates the foreign policy course of the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist community. The ideas and proposals and the broad set of peaceful initiatives formulated by the USSR are aimed at the elimination of hotbeds of conflicts fanned by the imperialist countries.

Awareness of the danger of war unites the peace loving forces more closely, energizes antiwar and antinuclear movements and leads increasingly new progressive and democratic detachment into the struggle against this threat. Washington's egotistical militaristic course is triggering increasing criticism and opposition in many countries throughout the world. The communist and workers' parties, the trade unions and the other mass social organizations are making a tremendous contribution to the common struggle for peace.

The experience gained in the practical application of the policy of the united worker and broad national fronts, developed at the 7th Comintern Congress, which became an outstanding page in the history of the communist and labor movements, helps in the struggle presently waged against the omnipotence of monopoly capital, the reaction's pressure and the threat of war, and for the consolidation of peace.

The main conclusion stemming from the assessments and stipulations formulated at the 7th Comintern Congress on problems of war and peace--the fact that a decisive struggle must be waged against war before it has started--is particularly relevant today. It is the basis of the current activities of communist and workers parties.

Let us note that in the 1980s, by virtue of the worsened international situation and the arms race, intensified by the fault of imperialism, the scale of the antinuclear movement has broadened. We can speak with full justification of the advent of a qualitatively new phase in the development of mass actions against the threat of war. Noteworthy, for example, is the negative reaction of various population strata to the economic, social and other consequences of militarization in the capitalist countries, their great concern in connection with increased budget deficits, curtailment of social programs, etc. It is no accident that the workers' parties and trade unions and other mass organizations in the West are paying increasing attention to problems, such as the correlation between antimilitaristic actions and the struggle waged by the working people for their socioeconomic demands.

Equally important is the broadening of the social base of contemporary antinuclear and antiwar movements in connection with the changes in public opinion and mass consciousness. This also influences views held on the

problems of war and peace by different political parties and mass organizations. Possibilities of developing a dialogue between communists and social democrats have noticeably increased of late. An increasing number of socialists and social democrats are emphasizing that the organized labor movement is not interested in raising higher the level of military preparations.

The main distinguishing feature of the contemporary antiwar movement is its mass nature, scope and variety of active social and political forces within it. Included in the movement are influential circles of various parties, such as social democratic, liberal and even a number of conservative parties. It includes trade unions, ecology groups, pacifist movements, women's and youth's organizations holding different views and religious groups. Noted scientists and men of culture and the arts are actively participating in it.

The working class has energized its struggle in defense of peace directly at large enterprises, particularly in the FRG, Italy, France and many other countries. The plant peace committees created in many such enterprises are doing extensive work in explaining to the working people the fatal consequences of increased war production. Emphasizing the close tie between the struggle against the arms race and problems of employment has become a feature of their peace initiatives. The increasingly active participation of the working class and its organizations in the antiwar movement is making it widespread and better organized.

The number of trade unions participating one way or another in the activities of antinuclear organizations or supporting their objectives is increasing in England, the United States and elsewhere. For example, it is no accident that last February, heeding the feelings of its rank-and-file membership, the AFL-CIO Executive Council adopted a resolution calling for freezing nuclear arsenals and military expenditures. Also characteristic is the fact that it also passed a resolution in which it refused to support "increasing expenditures at the cost of programs of vital importance to prosperity in the country."

Widespread antiwar actions, involving the active participation of political and professional working class organizations have been carried out in a number of Asian, African and Latin American countries.

Recent facts confirm that the working people are having a growing influence on the political opinions of increasingly broad population strata. The efforts of the organized forces of the working class today are characterized by the fact that their participants no longer limit themselves to raising general antiwar demands, as they did in the past, but specify them according to the political situation and relate them to socioeconomic ones.

The working people and increasingly broader people's masses are drawing instructive lessons from past experience, particularly from the events which 40 years ago marked the routing of fascism. Still extremely topical is the communist warning that the defense of peace requires the united, coordinated and active efforts of all peace loving forces. Equally valid are warnings of the inadmissibility of underestimating the influence of bourgeois ideology and

demagogic and false reactionary propaganda which cultivates nationalism, chauvinism, anticommunism and anti-Sovietism in the consciousness of the masses.

As convincingly proved by the tremendously important and richest theoretical and ideological legacy of the 7th Comintern Congress and the entire practical experience of the communist movement, the communists not only clearly realize the extent of their great responsibility for the fate of human progress, the world and human civilization itself, but also have the real possibility of indicating to the peoples an alternative to fascism, reaction and war. They continue to encourage the unification of all peace loving forces with a view to mobilizing them for an effective rebuff of the forces of imperialist reaction and militarism and for an effective struggle for lasting peace and social progress.

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## EAST-WEST RELATIONS

### MILITARY HISTORY JOURNAL ON POTSDAM CONFERENCE RESULTS

Moscow VOYENNO-ISTORICHESKIY ZHURNAL in Russian No 8, Aug 85 pp 80-84

[Article by Col V.V. Semin: "Fortieth Anniversary of the Berlin (Potsdam) Conference of the Three Great Powers"]

[Text] The Berlin (Potsdam) Conference of heads of government of the USSR, the United States and Great Britain (17 July-2 August 1945) was designed to enshrine in its decisions the historic victory won by the peoples of the USSR and the other allied countries over fascist Germany and to draw up a program of a just and lasting peace.

The decisions of the Berlin Conference are to this day a subject of acute ideological struggle. Concepts which contain an endeavor to belittle the significance of the conference and to portray its results in a false light predominate among those being advanced by bourgeois historians of the West. Attempts are being made to justify the Western powers' frustration of the Berlin Conference's decisions.

The political and economic principles of the allies' coordinated policy in respect of Germany in order to preclude the threat of German aggression were formulated in Potsdam. "German militarism and Nazism will be eradicated," the "Communique on the Berlin Conference of the Three Powers," said "and the allies in concert with one another will now and in the future adopt other measures necessary for ensuring that Germany no more threaten its neighbors or the preservation of peace throughout the world."\* At the same time the three powers proclaimed their intention to afford the German people the opportunity to subsequently organize their life on a democratic and peaceful basis.

An understanding was arrived at in Potsdam on the complete disarmament and demilitarization of Germany and also on the liquidation of the part of its industry which could be used for military production. It was decided in this connection to abolish the country's ground, naval and air armed forces, the SS, SA, the SA and the Gestapo with all their organizations, staffs (including

\* "The Soviet Union at International Conferences of the 1941-1945 Great Patriotic War Period. Volume VI. Berlin (Potsdam) Conference of Leaders of the Three Allied Powers--USSR, United States and Great Britain (17 July-2 August 1945). Collection of Documents," Moscow, Politizdat, 1984, p 450 (subsequently "The Berlin Conference").

the general staff) and establishments, educational institutions and military and paramilitary organizations. All the armaments, ammunition and specialized facilities for their production were to be handed over to allies or destroyed. The decisions of the Berlin Conference provided for liquidation of the Nazi party, its branches and the organizations and establishments under its control. Its active members were removed from responsible positions in the public and semipublic organizations and in private enterprises. All Nazi laws which had served the interests of the fascist regime were rescinded. It was determined that in the occupation period Germany was to be regarded as a single economic whole. This applied to industry and agriculture, wages and prices, imports and exports, monetary system and taxation and transport and communications. The creation of central administrative departments in the sphere of finances, transport, communications, foreign trade and industry was envisaged.\*

During the discussion of economic principles the Soviet delegation had to overcome the stubborn resistance of the Western powers, which endeavored to prevent the liquidation of Germany's military-economic potential. The Soviet delegation proposed that the main arsenal of German militarism--the Ruhr industrial district--be put administratively under the joint control of the United States, Britain, the USSR and France, while it be administered by an allied council of representatives of these countries.\*\* However, the United States and Britain did not consent to this. They adopted a policy of using Germany's military-economic potential, which was concentrated mainly in the western occupation zones, in their own interests.

The question of reparations, which were to have been on the one hand a means of Germany's economic disarmament and, on the other, to have partially compensated for the damage done to the states which were the victims of aggression, graphically reveals the imperialist essence of the policy of the United States and Britain and gave rise to heated debates. Back in Yalta agreement had been reached on the fact that Germany was obligated to make good the damage it had caused other states in the course of the war. And, furthermore, the United States had agreed with the Soviet Union's proposal of a sum total of reparations of \$20 billion as a basis for the discussion of this question by the Reparations Commission.\*\*\* Now, at the Berlin Conference, the U.S. Government abandoned its former position on this question. It was counting on taking advantage of the difficulties being experienced by the Soviet Union to attempt to impose on it on a whole number of issues decisions favorable to itself. Furthermore, it was not interested in a weakening of the positions of the German monopoly bourgeoisie since it feared that this could be reflected in the correlation of class forces in Germany. For these reasons the American delegation proposed that each occupying power collect reparations in its own zone. Thus the USSR was placed under the most disadvantageous conditions since the most important industrial areas and military-economic centers of Germany, which could yield appreciable reparations, were in the western zones. Furthermore, the economy of Germany's eastern areas, which were a part of the Soviet zone, had been heavily damaged as a result of bitter fighting.

\* See "The Berlin Conference," pp 450-455.

\*\* See "History of WWII 1939-1945," vol 10, Moscow, VOYENIZDAT, 1979, p 477.

\*\*\* "History of USSR Foreign Policy, vol 1, 1917-1945," Moscow, Nauka, 1976, p 480.

The conference's decisions proclaimed that the fascist criminals and those who had taken part in planning or carrying out measures which had entailed atrocities or war crimes were to be arrested and tried. The governments of the three powers confirmed their intentions of swiftly and justly indicting the principal war criminals before the International Military Tribunal.\* These decisions reflected the just demands of the peoples, who desired the immediate punishment of the fascist leaders for aggression, barbarism in the war, for having driven into slavery and having bestially killed millions of peaceful people and for crimes against peace and humanity.

As a result of diplomatic struggle the antifascist-democratic concept of Germany's development which has been proposed and was emphatically defended by the Soviet Union prevailed. The USSR had never identified the German people with the Hitler clique and had invariably rejected a policy of vengeance and the national humiliation of the Germans or their oppression. Only in such a way, it believed, could practicable conditions be secured for the postwar development of Germany as a united peace-loving and democratic state.

The formulation of a concerted position and in respect of Poland required much effort. Back on 5 July 1945 the United States and Britain had recognized the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity, which had been created in accordance with the decisions of the Crimea Conference. The decision of the Berlin Conference observed that Britain and the United States would discontinue recognition of the former Polish Government in London.\*\*

The Berlin Conference resolved certain territorial issues. A special section of the agreement provided for the transfer to the Soviet Union of Loenigsberg and its adjacent area.

The Berlin Conference established the new Polish-German border along a line just west of Swinemuende (Swinoujście) and thence along the Oder and West Neisse. Part of East Prussia which had not passed into the possession of the USSR and also the territory of the former "free city of Danzig" (now Gdansk) were transferred to Poland. The Polish state acquired borders which had been brought about by historical, ethnographic and geographical factors and which correspond to the interests of peace and security in Europe. It is important to emphasize that the Potsdam agreements in this connection are permanent and conclusive. They speak of the land being transferred to Poland as "former German territories". Proceeding from this, the conferees adopted a decision on relocating the German population from Polish land.

In connection with the end of the war in Europe there was an urgent need for an acceleration of preparatory work on a peace settlement with fascist Germany's

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\* See "The Berlin Conference," p 457.

\*\* See *ibid.*, p 458.

former allies. The delegations decided to set up a council of foreign ministers of the five powers (USSR, United States, Britain, France and China) and to entrust to it as a priority task the preparation of peace treaties for Italy, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland. Furthermore, it was anticipated that the council would be used to prepare "a peace settlement for Germany in order that the corresponding documents be deemed suitable for this by the German Government when such a government is formed."\*

An important place in the work of the conference was occupied by coordination of the three powers' policy in respect of the European countries which had fought on the side of Germany, which had subsequently broken with it. The American delegation submitted a draft proposal which envisaged support for the request for admittance to UN membership of Italy, the neutral states and also all other states in accordance with the UN Charter, but which said nothing about admittance to the United Nations of Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland.

On 17 July the U.S. delegation demanded "The immediate reorganization of the existing governments in Romania and Bulgaria," believing that only on this condition could there be diplomatic recognition of these states. The Soviet delegation naturally could not consent to such demands inasmuch as they concealed attempts to impose on the peoples of these countries reactionary political regimes. I.V. Stalin emphasized that in facilitating Italy's position it was necessary at the same time to settle similar questions with Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland, that is, begin with the restoration of diplomatic relations with them.\*\*

Thanks to the efforts of the Soviet representatives, the attempts of the United States and Britain to interfere in the internal affairs of the states of Central and Southeast Europe were averted. The documents of the Berlin Conference pointed out that the governments deemed it desirable for peace treaties to be concluded with Italy, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland. It was envisaged that the conclusion of such treaties with the recognized democratic governments of these countries would make it possible to support their request for admission to the United Nations. It was also decided that "the three governments, each individually, agree to study in the very near future in the light of the conditions which then exist the question of the establishment to the extent possible of diplomatic relations with Finland, Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary until the conclusion of peace treaties with these countries."\*\*\*

The heads of the three governments also examined the question of the Soviet Union's entry into the war against Japan. The Soviet delegation confirmed once again that the USSR would fulfill the commitment it had assumed and would participate in the time determined of the smashing of the Far East aggressor.

Thus the content of the decisions adopted at the Berlin Conference represent a striking example of the possibility of the cooperation of states with

\* "The Berlin Conference," p 428.

\*\* Ibid., pp 296, 308-309.

\*\*\* Ibid., p 441.



different socioeconomic systems. Its decisions were greeted everywhere with tremendous enthusiasm. There was no "Stalin diktat" and no "unjustified concessions" to the Soviet Union on the part of the Western powers, about which bourgeois historians are now writing so much, at the conference. Nor does the assertion of the falsifiers that the Soviet Government advocated Germany's unity in Potsdam merely because it was "nurturing the idea that a chaotic situation in a totally devastated Germany would create favorable conditions for its complete subordination to communism"\* correspond to reality.

Decisions were adopted at the conference which corresponded to the lofty aims of the anti-Hitler coalition, the ideas of democracy, justice and social progress and the principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. They denoted the victory of democratic principles of the postwar arrangement of the world, were an example of international commitments which expressed the interests of all peace-loving peoples and represented a sure foundation for continuation of the businesslike cooperation of the allies in the anti-Hitler coalition under conditions of peace and for settlement of postwar problems. By their entire content these decisions were turned toward the future and aimed at a just and reliable postwar arrangement in Europe. Direct threads extend from them to the agreements and treaties concluded between socialist and capitalist countries in the years of detente and to the Helsinki Final Act, which engendered among the peoples justified hopes for a strengthening of security and stability in the world.

The USSR Government has unswervingly and consistently fulfilled and continues to fulfill the decisions of the Berlin Conference. They have been implemented fully in the GDR. As far, however, as the Western powers, primarily the United States, are concerned, their policy has in this time run counter to the commitments which they assumed in Potsdam. The Western powers have departed from the principles of the concerted policy in respect of Germany and have once again essentially embarked on the path of a revival of German militarism. With their encouragement and direct assistance the half-million-strong Bundeswehr has now become the most powerful West European army and strike force of the aggressive NATO bloc in Europe. The basis of the major shift in the Western powers policy toward confrontation and their flouting of the principles of Potsdam were a refusal to recognize the objective regularity of the historical changes on the European continent and attempts to portray the victory of the popular-democratic revolutions in the East European countries as "the hand of Moscow". The falsifiers of history are still unwilling to recognize the objective nature of the revolutions which occurred in these countries and which transformed their appearance. They are reluctant to come to terms with the fact that the accession to power in the majority of Central and Southeast European countries of democratic government was a direct consequence of the working people's liberation struggle against the German-fascist occupiers and their accomplices from the ranks of local bourgeois and feudal-

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\* P.A. Zhilin, A.S. Yakushevskiy, Ye.N. Kul'kov, "Critique of Basic Concepts of Bourgeois Historiography of WWII," Moscow, Nauka, 1983, p 341.

bourgeois reaction, which had shown itself to be an antinational force. In the vanguard of this struggle marched the communist parties, which afforded the patriots a clear prospect and inspiring program not only of national but also of social liberation. Consequently, objectively favorable conditions existed for the new power.

Currently bourgeois propaganda is attempting to portray the decisions of the Berlin Conference as "the fatal mistake of the West". In the current situation the campaign against Potsdam is a symptom of the growing antagonism of the United States and NATO as a whole and of the West's stimulation of military preparations, a special role in which is being assigned reactionary circles of the FRG. Having cast aside the allied accords concerning the eradication of German militarism, the United States and its Atlantic bloc partners are encouraging the buildup of the FRG's military might, to which the cancellation by the Western European Union in 1984 of the remaining restrictions on the production in the FRG of strategic conventional arms testifies for the umpteenth time. West German territory has been converted into a springboard for a nuclear first strike against the USSR and the other socialist countries. It is this purpose which is served by the American intermediate-range nuclear missiles which are being deployed here.

But an increasingly large number of commonsensical people in the United States and the FRG and elsewhere also are expressing concern at the danger of a military alliance between Washington and Bonn.

Forty years have elapsed since the historic Berlin Conference of leaders of the three allied powers, but its ideas live today also in the minds of millions of people.

The successful completion of the Berlin Conference was convincing testimony that states which cooperated in the war years in the struggle against the common enemy may, given the desire, despite the difference in social systems, find grounds for cooperation in peacetime also. This is particularly pertinent in the current situation for the purpose of preventing a world nuclear catastrophe.

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## SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CMEA AFFAIRS

### INTERVIEW WITH SCHOLARS OF INSTITUTE FOR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 40, Oct 25 1985 10-30

[Interview with Yuriy Shiryayev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and director of the Institute; Liliya Granatova, D.Sc. (Economics), adviser on intersectoral economic cooperation (USSR); Chavdar Yordanov, adviser on research into production and scientific and technical problems of cooperation (Bulgaria); Roland Schoepf, adviser on scientific, technical, and production cooperation (GDR); and Krystyna Krupnik, expert on the effectiveness of the use of material resources (Poland), by A. Grabovsky and B. Kozlov: "The Key to Progress"; date and place not given]

[Text] The CPSU sees the key to more rapid social and economic development in the Soviet Union in raising science and technology to the most advanced modern levels. It is a major challenge. One of the ways to meet it is more effective use of the mutually beneficial international division of labour. As Mikhail Gorbachev noted at a meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, "this applies above all to our relations with the CMEA countries."

The countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance are stepping up their social and economic development. They are coordinating their economic policies, drawing up a comprehensive programme for scientific and technological cooperation, completing work on dovetailing their national economic plans, and preparing major new initiatives for production cooperation and for joint development of natural resources. This confronts both practical workers and scientists dealing with CMEA community economics with a host of new tasks.

The International Institute of Economic Problems of the Socialist World System, set up under CMEA's auspices almost a decade and a half ago, is one of the coordinators of the joint efforts in resolving the scientific and practical problems involved in economic integration.

New Times has invited the Institute's leading scientists to share their views on one of the most urgent problems of today --

scientific and technological progress in the CMEA countries. Taking part in the discussion were Yuri Shiryayev, Corresponding Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and Director of the Institute; Liliya Gerasimova, D.Sc. (Economics), adviser on intersectoral economic cooperation (U.S.S.R.); Zvezdar Yordanov, adviser on reserves into production and scientific and technical problems of cooperation (Bulgaria); Milos Jozovic, adviser on scientific, technical and production cooperation (G.D.R.); and Krystyna Krupnik, expert on the effectiveness of the use of material resources (Poland).

N.T. How would you describe the present stage of development of the world economy and the economy of the socialist countries? Is it just continued improvement of the production mechanism or something more substantial?

Shiryayev. It is essentially a matter of a new organization of production on an international scale, of qualitatively new productive forces and a qualitatively new mode of social and economic thinking. We are to give up the traditional model of development, taking into account the general trends of the future which are already discernible today. We are poised for a technological breakthrough in the productive forces. The scientific and technological revolution is assuming a new quality.

N.T. Is it becoming a revolution in production as well as in science?

Shiryayev. Yes, in the full sense of the word. It is not only production proper and its management that are being revolutionized. The character and substance of work are changing. New technology is invading the non-productive sphere, transforming people's living conditions and behavior. Scientific and technological progress thus becomes not only a factor that widens the material and technical base of the national economy but also a factor determining further improvement of socialist production relations. And that applies to the relations between the CMEA countries too. We are witnessing a remarkable phenomenon: instead of adding new technology to the production apparatus we are now going to restructure, that is, replace or drastically modify this apparatus using basically new methods and technologies.

N.T. It can be said then that, as compared to the industrial revolution of the 17th-19th centuries which put the machine between the worker and the object of work, the main feature of the present technological revolution is the transition to a new stage in the development of society's productive forces when the robot and flexible automatic systems become the new intermediaries between man and the object of his work.

Yordanov. The strategic guidelines for our technological revolution and consequently our cooperation have been clearly laid down. The development of industrial robots is just one element in the scientific and technological revolution. We are going to introduce electronics in production on a wide scale; to use atomic energy to generate electricity and heat; to create and develop new artificial materials, unique alloys, and extrapure metals. Finally, we are going to use new technologies, including biotechnology, which would be especially fruitful in agriculture and medicine.

**Q.F.** Are you talking about projects and ideas for the future, or is it something already being done?

**Shigapov.** A lot is being done. The CMEA countries are involved in national and international robotization programmes. This year the U.S.S.R. will have 40,000 industrial robots and by 1990 the CMEA countries taken together will possess 200,000 robots. Of course, the economic mechanism cannot be restructured overnight, if only because it requires considerable financial outlay. In the next five years Bulgaria, for instance, will spend more than two thirds of its investment in production to introduce fundamentally new technologies and only 25-30 percent will go into the reconstruction and modernization of existing technologies.

**Goldberger.** The outlay is great, but the benefits are also great. Take nuclear power, for example. The agreements on the construction of nuclear power plants have already involved more than 50 enterprises and amalgamations in the CMEA countries in a single technological cycle. By 1990 our atomic power plants will generate a total of 100 million kilowatts of electric energy, and every million saves more than 2 million tons of fuel (in conventional units) every year. As a result, the CMEA countries will annually get extra electric power equivalent to 75 million tons of fuel in reference terms. This is about the output of the Soyuz gas pipeline over several years. Since the annual supplies to the CMEA countries amount to 15,500 million cubic metres, the total economy of investment in energy will be some 10,000 million rubles.

**Q.F.** The figures are impressive. But we must advance still more rapidly if we are to reach the modern frontiers of technology. What are the obstacles in the way?

**Shigapov.** We are still slow in introducing new technology in production. Today machines are being replaced by industrial robots. And in the future it will be automatic plants. Basically new technology is being established. But this new technology coexists with some outdated equipment. The result is a kind of "technological cocktail."

**Brumfit.** This has always been the case and will continue to be so. The replacement of old technology is a continuous process, although its pace has been dramatically changed by flexible automated production lines and electronics. On the other hand, this "cocktail" objectively slows down the introduction of new technology.

**Shigapov.** That is true. In conditions where we have to regear the economy to intensive modes of development and make up for missed opportunities of accelerating our growth, it is a race against the clock. Add to this the need to make ourselves technologically independent of capitalism in the context of the West pursuing a policy of confrontation. In view of all these circumstances, the gap between science and production should be minimal. Yet we scientists often think along the old lines to which we have grown accustomed, approaching production in a hypothetical "pure science" way. On the other hand, the people in industry sometimes lack creative imagination. In this way entire areas of production can become outdated.

But the problem is not insoluble. The CMEA countries have accumulated a tremendous scientific and technological potential constituting one third of the entire world potential. CMEA European members alone issue more than 100,000 patents for new inventions, almost double the average (per 100,000 of population) in developed capitalist countries. The application of these inventions has had considerable economic effect. In 1983 it amounted to 122 million leva in Bulgaria, 8,115 million forints in Hungary, 1,074 million marks in the G.D.R., 2,710 million zlotys in Poland, 2,710 million rubles in the U.S.S.R. and 2,319 million crowns in Czechoslovakia.

Schopf. Evidently the first thing to do is to pool our efforts to hasten the introduction of sound scientific ideas in industry. Of late the CMEA has paid more attention to strengthening the links between science, technology and production. But this also depends on the improvement of the CMEA countries' national economics and the mechanism of their integration.

N.T. Are you suggesting that up to now scientific and technological cooperation among the CMEA countries was focused on developing new ideas rather than on their application?

Schopf. Yes. This can be seen from the relatively small share (about 20 percent) of agreements on scientific and technological cooperation providing for cooperation in production. The reasons for the imbalance between the high scientific and technological potential of the CMEA countries and its relatively low yield are well known. For instance, we often dissipate our efforts and do not always concentrate on the most important areas of scientific and technological progress.

Shiryayev. So far the share of technical novelties obtained through joint research and development has not been great. The rate at which the result of such research are being introduced into production and the scale of their application do not keep abreast with the economic needs of the CMEA countries and with scientific and technological progress worldwide.

Gramoteyeva. Much has been done of late to strengthen the link between scientific and technological cooperation and the international socialist division of labour in production. We have set up more than 60 coordination centres for scientific and technological cooperation, and we have international teams of scientists, and joint laboratories and design offices.

Schopf. A case in point is the cooperation between the Central Heavy Engineering Research Institute and the Uralmash Plant of the U.S.S.R. and the Edelstahlwerke of the G.D.R. They have developed a technology for the manufacture of 100-ton steel blocks in electric furnaces to be used in making turbine rotors and nuclear reactor bodies. This is an important development for the whole of our community. Here is another example: the governments of the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia have agreed to establish an international scientific and technical association Robot, for the joint manufacture of robotized complexes and flexible automatic systems.



Gramoteyeva. I want to draw your attention to another important problem: the provision of fuel, energy and other resources. The problem of resources is far from simple.

Krupnik. It is no secret that the growth of fuel and energy resources in the CMEA countries slowed down back in the 1970s. We have reached the level of the leading capitalist countries, as far as fuel consumption per capita is concerned. However, because our economies have for a long period been developing in the extensive rather than the intensive way we expend more fuel, energy, steel, rolled and nonferrous metals and cement per unit of national income. The situation is now changing. We are trying to make more effective use of our resources.

Gramoteyeva. We would have to use some skill in concentrating our resources in key areas. And a thoughtful resource-saving policy is needed. For resources are not unlimited. Besides, intensification of production in some industries results in the extensive development are two sides of the same process. Intensification, say, in the extractive industry--for example, raising the yield of oil up to 70-80 percent (to twice the current level)--involves an increase of oil extraction in physical terms, i.e., in tons. The intensive type of economic growth does not rule out quantitative (extensive) expansion, provided the yield rate is greater.

N.T. Statistics and experience show that the U.S.S.R. spends 2-3 times less on economizing fuel, energy and raw materials by rational use than on increasing their output by an equivalent amount. We are well aware of this because the Soviet Union is the main supplier of raw materials and fuel to other socialist community countries.

Krupnik. In the present situation the cheapest "source" of fuel and raw materials is economizing them. One gramme of fuel (in reference terms) saved in the generation of a kilowatt-hour of electric energy and a one percent reduction of losses in electric circuits will save the CMEA about 2 million tons of such fuel in the current five-year-plan period.

Gramoteyeva. But there is more to it than meets the eye. Economizing is not the same as intensification because any economy (given the same technology) is finite, it has its limits. There is therefore the likelihood that in the near future economizing efforts will be less effective than the use of alternative sources of energy, or the extraction of raw materials with the use of new technologies, including biotechnology.

Schopf. We in the G.D.R. have deliberately preserved a certain imbalance in our industry to give priority to microelectronics. The manufacture of microelectronics accounts for only one percent of industrial production in the G.D.R. However, by the late 1980s the products of this industry will be used in half of all the machines in industry. I think it is a telling example.

Krupnik. Hungary has three programmes for the rational use of material resources in the current five-year-plan period. Better energy distribution alone is to result in a saving in its use equivalent to a million tons of

oil. Similar programmes are under way in Poland and other socialist community countries. They involve interstate cooperation in the manufacture of energy- and resource-saving equipment.

The use of advanced technologies yields dramatic economic effect in other branches of the economy as well. For example, improved electrolyzers in the production of aluminium save about 6 percent of electric energy. This is a lot considering that the smelting of aluminium consumes great amounts of electric energy. Modern computerized forging equipment saves 15-18 percent of metal just by better cutting of the metal sheet. The use of 1,000 tons of glass fibres for thermal insulation will annually save 200,000-300,000 tons of fuel. And so on.

N.T. It can be said that the saving of resources is intimately connected with scientific and technological progress. That is why recent sessions of the CMEA have paid particular attention to comprehensive measures to boost cooperation in the field of energy, fuel and raw materials for the period ending 1990 and in the longer term.

Shiryayev. That is true. And I am glad to add that the scientists at my institute have made their modest contribution to planning these measures. I could name other areas of cooperation between the fraternal countries for which the institute is doing theoretical research and preparing practical recommendations for the CMEA bodies. This includes the improvement of the economic mechanism of cooperation, the structure of trade between the CMEA countries, including the production and export of competitive consumer goods, the development of concrete ways of strengthening the material and technical base of agriculture, and promoting cooperation in the food industry. Of course you can't cover everything in one interview. Let me just say that joint work by scientists and practitioners from the socialist community countries is informed with a new and modern approach to economic problems in order to make full use of the advantages of socialism.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

APN DAILY REVIEW OF AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, NO 8 AUG 85

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in English No 8, Aug 85

[Article in English, no author given]

[Text] Beginning with the second half of this year the magazine AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA has added Arab, Dari and Portuguese editions to its previously existing Russian, English, and French ones. In this connection, APN correspondents, on request from the magazine's editorial board, asked Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and chairman of the DRA Revolutionary Council, and Ali Nasser Muhammad, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council of the YPDR, to share their views on the role of the mass media in the developing countries' struggle for peace, social progress, and a better future for mankind.

Babrak Karmal said, in part, that the mass media of the Western countries were waging a large-scale ideological war against the forces of socialism and progress, against the developing countries and national liberation movements. They are pouring out malicious propaganda directed against the peoples of Asia and Africa fighting for national and social emancipation, and the consolidation of their political and economic independence, and against imperialism, colonialism, racism and apartheid.

There is no doubt that on their own the developing countries of Asia and Africa cannot stand up to the powerful torrent of lies and slander issuing from the imperialist propaganda media every day, the Afghan leader said. Of particular importance in these circumstances are the combined efforts of the developing countries and their cooperation with the socialist countries in opposing imperialist propaganda and the ideological war, launched by the Western mass media.

The role of the mass media is growing more important at the present stage of the Asian and African peoples' national liberation movement, Ali Nasser Muhammad said. This is taking place amid a change in the world alignment of class forces, something that has found a reflection in the information sphere. New forms of international cooperation in information have emerged due to the existence of the socialist and the newly free countries. It is essential to

set up a new world information order designed to ensure cooperation between all states of the world in using the media for international peace, prevent a destructive world war, strengthen the relations of peaceful coexistence, friendship and equitable cooperation between all states and peoples of the world.

The article "Friendship To Grow Stronger," by A. Sarvarov, is dedicated to the 38th anniversary of the declaration of India's independence and to the 14th anniversary of the Soviet-Indian Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation.

The author writes that practical efforts by the new Indian leadership attest to the continuity of the country's foreign policy line--including in regard to the Soviet Union. The two states view the development of their bilateral links as a priority direction in their foreign policy, which meets the basic national interests and serves the cause of peace in Asia and in the whole world. Cemented by the 1971 Treaty, friendly Soviet-Indian relations are characterized by a high level of trust and mutual understanding, dynamic pace, a broad sphere of cooperation, stability and immunity to any political perturbations and upsets.

The Soviet Union is a reliable and tested friend and partner of India which seeks no profit for itself out of this partnership, A. Sarvarov continues. It builds its relations with India in strict accordance with the principles of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit. India's cooperation with the USSR contributes to the consolidation of the former's economic self-sufficiency and defense capability, and is not accompanied by any political conditions or used as a means of pressure.

One of the most important organic components of Soviet-Indian friendly relations is the practice of regular contacts between the leaders of the two countries. Each such meeting elevates our diversified links to a fundamentally new and higher level, consolidating trust and mutual understanding between the two peoples and cementing Soviet-Indian cooperation in the international arena.

The official friendly visit to the Soviet Union in May this year by Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, the author continues, came as an event of great political importance and as a major landmark in the continuing development of our bilateral links. The visit by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to the USSR and his talks with the Soviet leaders have once again convincingly demonstrated the intransient and stable character of the relations of close friendship and diversified fruitful cooperation between the Soviet Union and India, have added new dimensions to these relations and have come as a major landmark in their further expansion and intensification. These traditional friendly links which have withstood the test of time are strong and unshakeable because they are based on the principles of equality and mutual respect and on common or close positions of the two countries on the basic issues of modern time.

"Differentiation of Developing Countries: New Trends" is the subject of an article by Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Sheinis.



It is beyond doubt, the scholar writes, that the deep and fundamental difference between the centers of the world capitalist system and the bulk (although not all) of developing countries will remain unchanged in the foreseeable future. Even now they are divided not by a geometrical line, but by a strip comprising the "rear guard" countries of one group and the "leaders" of the other. Under the existing trend the developing world becomes not only heterogeneous and nonuniform, but also multitier, hierarchic and polycentric. This is because evolution in most newly free countries does not proceed round the vicious circle of "developing underdevelopment," but is accompanied by onward, though uneven, progress of the productive forces and social relations despite the formidable and historically unprecedented difficulties arising on this way. What's more, the difficulties of many upper-echelon developing countries are becoming in some important respects increasing similar to the socioeconomic problems of the advanced capitalist nations, which are admittedly also quite monumental. But it is in the lower tiers of the developing world system that the sharpest problems which are the hardest to solve are concentrated.

Both the differentiating and leveling forces operate on the scale of the whole world capitalist economy rather than in its individual components. As V. Sheinis sees it, the developing world on the threshold of the third millenium is not a socioeconomic space fenced off by an impenetrable "barrier of underdevelopment," but a sum of social structures gradually incorporating the diverse forms of the whole modern world.

The journal also features the articles "The Nationalities Issue and Sociopolitical Problems of Newly Free States (Exemplified by Africa)" by L. Entin, "Vietnam, the August That Brought Liberation," by S. Mkhitarian, "Malaysia, In Search of New Targets," by D. Kosyrev, and other materials.

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### THIRD WORLD ISSUES

#### NATIONALITIES ISSUE, SOCIOPOLITICAL PROBLEMS IN AFRICA VIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 8, Aug 85 pp 4-7, 18

[Article by L. Entin, doctor of juridical sciences: "The National Question and Sociopolitical Problems of Liberated Countries (On the Example of Africa)"]

[Text] Historical practice has completely and unarguably confirmed Lenin's prediction about the inevitability of destruction of colonialism and the length and difficulty of the fight to completely eliminate it and remove all traces of its consequences. Among the complex and varied problems which are encountered today in the African countries, one of the most urgent, not amenable to a simple and immediate resolution, is still the national problem. It has a very serious effect on social and state construction and the process of development of political relations, and its unresolvability frequently gives rise to sharp conflicts and complicates the political situation in the young states.

Practically all the liberated countries in one degree or another are dealing with a national problem, although naturally the forms of its manifestation, the consequences, and to a still greater degree, the means proposed for dealing with it, are far from identical. Above all, the countries themselves are different, as is the level of their social-economic, social-political, and cultural development. The nature of the established power and the development strategy chosen are not identical. "These countries are very different," was observed at the 26th CPSU Congress. "After liberation, some of them took the revolutionary-democratic path. Others affirmed capitalist relations. Some of them have been conducting long-term independent policies, others are currently following the lead of imperialist policies. In short, the picture is fairly variegated."

Most of the young states are countries with a polyethnic makeup of the population. For example, in the Republic of Zaire there are more than 250 ethnic groups, and in Nigeria--more than 200. Even in the small republic of Togo there are more than 30. Creating a national state as a result of an anticolonial movement in this region of the world does not occur on the base of an already formed nation, but precedes its formation. Forming sovereign states in the area of former colonies and semicolonies lays the groundwork for accelerating the process of national consolidation and integration. However,

realizing these potential opportunities leads to serious difficulties of an objective and subjective nature, and markedly complicates national-state construction.

Frequently interethnic frictions reflect growing social conflicts and serve as a unique outward reflection of their manifestation. This is shown, for example, by the resistance to the domination of the Kikuyu in the state apparatus and economic life of Kenya, or the dominant ethnic group Baule in the republic of the Ivory Coast.

Colonialism has left a legacy for the young states of significant disproportions in the development of various ethnic groups and regions. The negative economic consequences of this distorted development are perfectly obvious. They create a sort of "material" base for preserving, and frequently even worsening, interethnic and ethnoregional frictions, which sometimes become extremely sharp. Very typical in this regard is the situation which has developed in the republic of Chad. Substantial differences between ethnic groups, between the populations of the north, central, and south of the country, in their ways of life, customs, and occupations are added to their extremely unequal economic and cultural development, inherited from the era of colonialism. The north is the most backward and deprived region. Almost 90 percent of its inhabitants are illiterate. The puppet regimes which succeeded one another did nothing to eliminate the ruinous consequences of colonial domination. As a result, as early as the mid-1960s, unrest flared up in this region. Attempts to suppress antigovernment demonstrations using repression, and even using French troops, led finally to a bloody civil war which for all practical purposes is still raging today.

Policies of equalizing the level of development of various ethnoregional groups, proclaimed by many governments and carried out especially by countries with progressive regimes, are leading to a shortage of material funds and resources, and difficulty in eliminating stagnant and archaic customs, traditions, and beliefs, as well as opposition from the tribal and feudal aristocracy. Under these conditions, regulating and restructuring national relations is predominantly being carried out using political-legal means.

The constitutions and legislation of the young states, and program documents of ruling parties, proclaim and secure the principle of formal equality of citizens, independent of ethnic, national, or race background, ban the propaganda of a race or national hostility or exclusiveness, and forbid discrimination or giving any sort of privileges and advantages based on ethnic or racial factors. Nevertheless, enforcing these legal provisions is by no means always effective even in countries with a relatively high (on the scale of Africa) level of social-economic development, such as, for example, Nigeria, the Ivory Coast, and others. The capitalist path of development, which is usually connected with a local bourgeoisie made up of persons originating from the dominating ethnic group, further complicates the situation, and gives an ethnic coloration to conflicts which are social in their nature. The difficulties encountered by liberated countries are engendered not only by internal factors. Interethnic and national frictions are actively kindled and supported by imperialist forces, especially in cases where they serve the needs of neocolonial exploitation of the liberated

countries by transnational corporations, or in order to destabilize progressive regimes. To bear this out, one may cite the inspired transnational corporate attempt to divide the eastern province off of Nigeria and form so-called Biafra, which led to a civil war costing, according to some data, almost a million lives. The West, especially the United States, actively supports separatist and schismatic movements and groups, created on a tribalist base, which come out against revolutionary-democratic regimes. Such was the situation, for example, in Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola, and a number of other countries; moreover, the schismatic movements in Angola and Mozambique relied on direct military support on the part of the racist regime of South Africa.

Investigators from liberated countries, in studying of the national question, have generally emphasized the direct responsibility of imperialist powers for the strained situation and worsened interethnic and national frictions. L. Sylla, dean of the Humanities Department of Abidjan University, in a detailed monograph titled "Tribalism and the Single Party in Black Africa. Sketch of a General Theory of National Integration"<sup>2</sup> very convincingly asserts, based on extensive factual material, that the artificial transplanting of Western political models and values brought in its wake worsened interethnic relations in the countries of Africa. Accepting Western principles and bases of political organization, in the opinion of this author, was the price that had to be paid by the young states for declaring independence. In their turn, bourgeois parliamentarism, the multiparty system, and the like promoted in practice a worsening of interethnic rivalries and hostilities, which even now are darkening the future of the young states. The state of interethnic relations, which the author evaluates in a fashion which is far from overly optimistic, are considered by L. Sylla to be the main indicator of the "political health of Africa."

The worsened economic and financial situation caused by increased neocolonial exploitation and the striving by imperialist powers to shift to the liberated countries the burden of the crisis which has struck the world capitalist system are currently leading to an intensification of the nationalist mood in a number of countries, and a revival of traditionalist forces and institutions. A unique reflection of the situation which has developed, in particular, can be seen in the dissemination of various types of "theoretical" research, which fights for "a return to roots," originality, or "authenticity." But the attempt being made in, for example, Zaire, using the ideology of "authenticism" to ensure "national unity" and "social peace" has clearly miscarried. According to the data of the journal AFRIQUE-ASIE, in 1980-1984 in Zaire there were strikes by large numbers of people and demonstrations of entire ethnic groups.<sup>3</sup> According to the opinion of Gabon researcher G. Pambu Chivundy, "authenticism" is an "exhumation" of remnants of the past, and their idealization is nothing other than an acknowledgment of complete failure in the present. An analogous opinion is expressed by the Algerian author M. Daani.

A broad range of opinions characterizes the assessment not only of the ethnonational situation, and the reasons for and nature of its evolution in liberated countries, but also its social-political consequences. Strictly speaking, few people dispute the negative results of ethnonational



differences. But as for the nature of their influence on the political process, and in particular, attempts to propose some positive program, very different opinions are expressed.

The political science literature of developing nations gives fairly broad credence to the concept of the patronage nature of social relations in the postcolonial period. This concept, developed predominantly by American bourgeois authors, has undergone substantial changes in the interpretation of scientists from the liberated countries, who linked it with the nature of power and the ethnonational situation.

In opposition to the bourgeois researchers in the West, authors from developing countries frequently cast doubt on the assertion of the absence of classes or class struggle in countries in which clientelism predominates. Frequently they directly condemn attempts to reduce the entire multiplicity of social frictions to the confrontation of "traditional and modern."

Of course, linking patronage relations only with ethnic splits and national factors alone, rather than the social order, is incorrect. Clientelism, as one of the forms of unequal relations based on personal dependence, engenders an exploiting system. Colonialism, in preserving archaic social structures, promoted their retention and expansion. Dependent capitalist development in the postcolonialist period was not accompanied by a breakup of the patronage relations. On the contrary, in many countries of peripheral capitalism they were expanded and turned into the standard way of political life. Ethnonational isolation and hostility under conditions of a distorted and dependent capitalist development are impeding the breakup of relations of inequality and exploitation, which in turn become an obstacle on the path of national-state construction and the consolidation of the state system.

Many researchers from liberated nations associate the existence of authoritarian and despotic regimes in a number of countries of Africa with imperatives of forming a nation and preserving clientelism. Nigerian lawyer Professor B. O. Nwabueze sees the despotic rule of one-man rule as nothing other than a projection of a chief's power onto modern reality. K. Mbal (Senegal) relates this phenomenon to the predominance of traditional ideas about power, in accordance with which she postulates the possession of an outstanding personality as a special mystical gift. At the same time, analytical works of researchers from liberated countries more and more often undertake attempts to show how this is done; F. L'uari, in his dissertation "Dynamics of Rule in Malawi," says that the ethnic factor in politics is only one of many factors which arise and influence the political process and the functioning of political institutions.

Bourgeois political analysts, in studying the role of the ethnological factor in politics, actively use the concept of a "plural" society. They see it as distinct from the pluralistic societies existing in developed capitalist nations because of the predominance of traditionalism, and the institutions, structures, and values belonging to a "preindustrial" society. On the strength of this, such a society is split predominantly into conflicting groups of a clan-tribal, regional, religious, or racial nature. According to the assertion of bourgeois scientists, a "plural" society has no mechanism for

measuring rival interests. Participation in social life here is not individualized, but is implemented through the mediation of the group to which the individual belongs. Barriers between groups (ethnic, caste, geographical, linguistic, and so forth) are surmounted with difficulty. They give rise to mutual distrust, group egocentrism, and constant conflicts and clashes.

According to the bourgeois authorities, "plurality" and the state of intergroup relations which goes along with it give rise to a rule that is based on force and oppression. Also connected with this is an assertion which is very widespread in bourgeois literature, according to which democracy is characteristic of a developed pluralist society, while authoritarianism and despotism are characteristic of the undeveloped "plural" society. "Africa, Asia and Latin America," asserts French legalist professor M. Duverger, "have now turned into a select site for the dominion of dictators. They not only have not weakened the despotism of traditional monarchies and colonial regimes, but on the contrary, have strengthened them...."<sup>4</sup>

Bourgeois authors, in contrasting "traditionalism" and "modern ways," emphasize in every possible way the stagnation of the "traditional" society and its structures. In their representation, ethnic, regional, and linguistic splits, and the absence of the necessary channels of communications between closed groups are shown as something organically related to the backward "traditional" society, which is afraid of everything new and shuns change. Frequently the adherence to dictatorial and despotic government is explained by some special national traits and properties. The authors of the annual "Near East and North Africa. 1983-1984," for example, consider the inhabitants of the Arab East to be inclined by temperament and experience to support authoritarianism and personal dictators: "In the average person, administration based on common public accord, as it is implemented using the democratic methods on the Western model, provokes impatience. He prefers to follow a single individual who possesses greater attractiveness and wisdom. If such a person does not appear, some sort of group or oligarchy will come to power."

Authors of the right-wing conservative persuasion like, for example, the American professor T. Molnar, think that the very use of such concepts as "democracy," "socialism," "liberalism," and so forth with regard to a "plural" society amounts to "empty words, devoid of sense and content." According to this obscurantist, states in Africa "are superstructures which encompass diffuse conglomerates of tribes, clans, religious communities, and heterogeneous families, which are superficially connected to each other and sometimes do not even have a common language."<sup>5</sup> In such a situation, asserts Molnar, the only alternative for these countries is the choice between anarchy and despotism.

The social givens and the direction of conceptual structures used by bourgeois social scientists, despite the variety in the approaches they suggest, are completely obvious and simple. Of course, no one is going to argue the fact that a society coming out of the colonial condition is profoundly different in many of its parameters from that existing in developed capitalist countries. Indeed, ethnonational frictions and differences not only have a place, but even, under the conditions of dependent capitalistic (procapitalistic)

development and the concentration of power in the hands of reactionary forces, frequently lead to an extremely exacerbated social-political situation, sometimes giving rise to bloody clashes and mass murder. For example, in the period of the dictatorial rule of Idi Amin in Uganda, tens of thousands of people belonging to specific ethnic groups were annihilated. Extremely sharp ethnosocial conflicts held sway in Rwanda and Burundi, where ethnic demarcations coincide to a significant degree with social ones.

The fallaciousness of the bourgeois scientific concepts proposed resides not in the accuracy of these facts but in their interpretation.

First, the postcolonial society in African and Asian countries is not something frozen and unchanging. The portrayal of society as being in a state of stagnation or even regression is completely inaccurate. The experience of the young states confirms that the changes occurring in these countries are dynamic. Postcolonial society is in a process of constant development and change, accompanied by transformation of the structures and political relations which go along with them. The experience of countries with a socialist orientation convincingly confirms that the revolutionary breakdown of residual structures is decisively connected with the social character of the state rule. This, incidentally, is not denied by objective-minded Western authors, who write of the revolutionary and evolutionary path of development of the liberated countries.<sup>6</sup>

Under modern conditions, obviously, it is impossible to talk about any sort of flaws which are organically characteristic of the backward "plural" society, instead we should discuss the difficulties of resolving the complex and varied problems of national construction, which will take time and persistent, purposeful efforts. Working out such a purposeful program of social construction--and this is also confirmed by the experience of revolutionary-democratic states--is made easier by a truly scientific revolutionary theory.

Second, one of the main premises of bourgeois social science is absolutely groundless, linking the possibility of overcoming backwardness and dependence with movement in the direction of capitalism. Bourgeois researchers, acknowledging the failure of policies of "Westernization," are now trying to claim that accepting the so-called liberal model is not a preliminary condition but a function of development. In doing this, regardless of the nuances in the treatment of the original concept itself, the situation is interpreted by bourgeois scientists as an affirmation of capitalist relations. A vast amount of research carried out by Marxist authors and many left-radical scientists shows convincingly that advancing along the capitalist path leads, as a rule, to the reproduction of dependence and backwardness. Under modern conditions, true national rebirth, securing national consolidation, and strengthening the national government are possible only through noncapitalist development, opening up a socialist future.

Third, conjectures that democracy is inherent to a pluralistic and inaccessible to a "plural" society are patently false. It is incorrect in the scientific plane even to pose a question which mechanically links the problem of democracy with the ethnonational structure of society. The true interconnection here is much more complex and runs through the sphere of



social-political relations. Democracy, one of the forms of political organization of society and implementing power, always has a class nature. Its essence and content are predetermined by the nature of rule, the correlation and confrontation of various social-class forces. Bourgeois authors, relying on concepts of abstract democracy or democracy in general, actually have in mind bourgeois democracy. With regard to the liberated countries, the level and degree to which they approximate the corresponding Western model is for bourgeois scientists the criterion and a precise reading in examining the question of the degree of democratism. This approach enables bourgeois scientists to deny for no reason the existence of a democratic structure in African countries.

The point is precisely, however, that the principles and institutions of bourgeois democracy as a particular political form of government of the exploiting minority do not correspond to the interests and needs of progressive development of the liberated countries. Attempts by colonial powers to transplant "liberal" models and enterprises have had a sharply negative effect and ruinous influence on the social development of many young states. Moreover, preserving the essence of this form of political organization while simultaneously eliminating political-legal institutions and procedures which are foreign to African societies has led to the appearance of various despotic and dictatorial regimes. It is quite natural that in countries of socialist orientation the transfer of power into the hands of revolutionary-democratic forces caused not only the elimination of external manifestations and attributes of bourgeois constitutionalism, but also the creation of new social-political and state structures. Radical changes occurred not only in the form but also the essence of ruling.

There is no question that the ethnonational structure of society has a significant influence on the practice of political and state construction. Polyethnicity has an effect on the form of the state, the system of political institutions, and the structure of functioning of the state apparatus. But the influence of this factor, its significance and direction with regard to the political process and the dynamics of social life, depends to a decisive degree on the social-class nature of ruling and the concrete historical conditions of development of one country or another.

Anarchy or despotism, which are advanced as possible alternatives of development, are completely groundless on the scientific plane. Today the question of conclusive importance is this: under what specific historic conditions, on what specific path of social-political development, using what sort of "plan of society" will the national question be resolved. The setting out of a large group of African countries on the path of socialist orientation confirms the possibility of progressively resolving the national question under conditions where the struggle for national liberation grows into a struggle for the social liberation of working people. Particularly indicative in this regard is the experience of those countries which have chosen the path of socialist development whose ruling parties are striving to be guided in their activity by the leading revolutionary theory--Marxism-Leninism.

The simplistic approach to resolving the national question is alien to revolutionary powers. They do not think that choosing socialism automatically



resolves all problems. Guided by Marxist teaching on the national question, they strive to work out a specific and integrated program of action, creatively applying the general theory to the specific conditions which have developed in a particular country of socialist orientation.

Revolutionary-democratic forces and vanguard parties of working people proceed on the assumption that the process of creating a nation is inseparably tied to strengthening state sovereignty, constructing an independent national economy, revising social structures, and eliminating cultural backwardness. In turn, the elimination of ethnonational differences and ethnoregional splits and isolation, as well as national consolidation and united national efforts to eliminate the ruinous consequences of colonial domination and neocolonial exploitation, lay the groundwork for achieving political stability, and promote economic and cultural growth.

According to the program of the Liberation Front of Mozambique, to carry out the basic tasks of the modern stage the party is carrying on a "struggle to consolidate ideological and class national unity, and a struggle against forces aimed at dividing people against one another, particularly against tribalism, regionalism, and racism."<sup>7</sup> The interconnection between resolving the national question and the creative application of the scientific revolutionary theory is emphasized by the program of the Popular Movement for Liberating Angola--the Labor Party. The party is managing to secure a national unity "based on the conscious application of the principles of scientific socialism, which exclude any manifestations of tribalism, regionalism, and racism."<sup>8</sup> A detailed program for resolving the extremely complex and tangled national question has been drawn up by the revolutionary forces of Ethiopia and confirmed in the documents of the Constituent Congress of the Workers Party of Ethiopia, which was held in September 1984.

The approach of the revolutionary forces to resolving the national question has also found its reflection in the constitutional legislation of countries traveling along the path of social progress. The constitution of Benin is very indicative in this regard. "The People's Republic of Benin," says Article 3 of the Basic Law, "is a single multinational state. All nationalities are equal in rights and responsibilities. Strengthening and developing their union is the sacred duty of the state, which ensures each of them full flowering in the union by carrying out just national policies and equal development of regions. Any manifestation of regionalism is strictly forbidden. All nationalities have the freedom to use their spoken and written languages and to develop their cultures. The state will give active help to nationalities living in poorly developed regions to achieve an all-national economic and cultural level."<sup>9</sup>

The constitution confirms that the path of development of Benin is socialism and that the entire organization "of national and social life on this path" is implemented under the leadership of the Party of the People's Revolution of Benin. The short but effective constitutional formula lays down the basic principles of national policies which correspond to the interests of the peoples of the country.

Of course, the party documents and many constitutional decrees in the liberated countries today reflect not so much what has been achieved as a program of activity for the future. But the positive and constructive nature of this program cannot be questioned. Under the conditions of a socialist orientation, the material and spiritual the stage is set for resolving the national question, answering the needs of progressive social development. Realizing these prerequisites is the task of the revolutionary-democratic forces and vanguard revolutionary parties which are leading the effort of revolutionary renovation of society.

The advanced forces in the liberated countries are able to make use in their own efforts of the rich experience in resolving the national question accumulated by the first country of true socialism--the Soviet Union. In this regard, the USSR considers it an international duty to give aid and assistance to the young states in resolving their most urgent problems.

The national question is complex and difficult; it cannot be easily resolved. The experience of the USSR and other socialist states, however, makes it possible to assert with the utmost confidence that it is the path of social progress, the path leading to socialism, which ensures its progressive and uniformly just resolution to the good of the man of labor.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, p 11.
2. L. Sylla, "Tribalisme et parti unique en Afrique Noire. Esquisse d'une theorie generale de l'integration nationale," Paris, 1977.
3. AFRIQUE-ASIE, No 339, January 1985, [page number illegible].
4. DICTATURE ET LEGITIMITE, Paris, 1982, p 21.
5. Th. Molnar, "Tiers monde. Ideologie. Realite," Paris, 1982, p 109.
6. See P. F. Gonidec, "L'Etat africain," Paris, 1985.
7. "Dokumenty partii FRELIMO Narodnoy Respubliki Mozambik" [Documents of the Party of the Liberation Front of Mozambique of the People's Republic of Mozambique], Moscow, 1980, p 210.
8. "I s"yezd Narodnogo dvizheniya za osvobozhdeniye Angoly (MPLA)" [First Congress of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), Moscow, 1978, p 109.
9. "Konstitutsiya Narodnoy Respubliki Benin" [Constitution of the People's Republic of Benin], Moscow, 1980, p 25.

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THIRD WORLD ISSUES

ZIONIST COLONIZATION OF PALESTINE SCORED (PART 2)

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 8, Aug 85 pp 27-30

[Article by D. Prokofyev, candidate of philological sciences: Great Robbery of the Palestinians. Part 2" (for Part 1, see AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, 1985, No 7)]

[Text] I cannot agree with the opinion of those who think that Israel has shifted to the right in its policies. Everything that is now being done on the West Bank and is seen by public opinion as evidence of the onset of right-wing extremism, was done on a no smaller scale as early as the war of 1948 and did not at that time arouse any sort of public protest. (General Shlomo Gazit, former chief of Israeli intelligence, in an interview with Radio Israel on 25 September 1984.)

The myth of the "War for Independence," as the official terminology calls the military actions of 1948, is one of the best-developed and most historically entrenched of Zionist myths. Even investigators who as a rule are fairly critical with regard to the ideology and practice of ruling circles of Israel are inclined to accept as the truth the thesis of Zionist propaganda concerning its defensive nature. But in reality the state of affairs is quite different: this war, from the very beginning, reflected the expansionist ambitions of the Zionist leadership.

Here it is immediately necessary to make a qualification: officially the Jewish agency (Sokhnut), and behind it the overwhelming majority of parties and organizations of the Jewish sector of Palestine, have adopted a plan of creating in this territory two states--a Jewish one and an Arab one--unconditionally. The ordinary Israelis saw in this plan the possibility of a just solution of the Palestinian problem based on decolonization and recognition of the right of the right to self-determination for both peoples of the country. The Zionist leaders had no possibility of coming out against the resolution on division--the people would not accept such a position. However, welcoming the agreement of leaders of the Jewish sector of Palestine to the division, the popular masses did not suspect that behind their backs a complex political game had been going on for a long time, in which Zionist leaders, pro-West monarchic regimes of the Near East, London, and Washington

were taking part. Neither the Palestinian Jews nor Palestinian Arabs, nor the international public realized that as early as 1945 a secret agreement was concluded between the leadership of the Jewish agency and King Abdullah of Transjordan under the auspices of the United States and Great Britain which called for dividing the territory intended for an Arab state in Palestine between Israel and Transjordan.

#### Haganah Opens Fire

The Zionists, in trying to convince public opinion of the "defensive" nature of the war of 1948, thoroughly hush up the facts which testify that it was because of their expansionist actions at the end of 1947 and the beginning of 1948 which made this war inevitable.

On 11 December 1947--2 weeks after the UN adopted the resolution concerning the formation of two states in Palestine--armed units of Haganah Zionists attacked the city of Ramle, which, according to the decision of the international fellowship, was located in the territory of the Arab state. A few days later, Haganah attacks were made against two villages in the Arab territory--Beyt-Surik near Jerusalem and Deir-Ayyub on the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem highway. Deir-Ayyub was occupied and turned into an outpost of the Haganah.<sup>1</sup>

On 25 January 1948, the Haganah seized yet another Arab population point--Kastel, also near Jerusalem. This was an important strategic operation: Kastel dominated over all cities leading into Jerusalem from the West. Thus, in occupying Kastel, the Haganah ensured itself control over the approaches to Western Jerusalem. Apart from that, this step was a clear violation of the UN resolution, a seizure of part of the territory of the Arab state, and clearly testified that the Zionist leadership did not intend to respect even that part of the resolution which granted Jerusalem international status.

As a rule, however, during this period the assaults were not large-scale operations in order to seize territory, but purely terrorist attacks. The system to which contingents of Haganah adhered was called "paga uvarakn" ("hit and run"). The attacks were generally undertaken at night--with a deafening noise, explosions, and blind firing. They did not set any specific operative tasks; the goal was to disorganize the populace as much as possible and to inspire terror, so that when the troops received orders to seize one area or another the populace would not resist.

At the beginning of 1948, the political leadership of the Jewish sector in Palestine ordered the Haganah command to prepare a document with a list of regions of the country--meaning the entire territory between the sea and Jordan--which should be seized before the expiration of the British mandate. On 10 March this document, prepared by the operations administration of the staff of the Haganah ("Plan D"), was given to Ben-Gurion and officially approved on the same day.

The first general offensive, "Operation Nakhshon," Haganah--by that time it had been joined by other armed units of the Jewish sector, including the terrorist groups Etsel ("Irgun tseva'i leumi") and Lekhi--began on 3 April 1948. The strike was made in two directions at once--the northern part of the



Jordan Valley and in the region of the corridor to Jerusalem. The goal of the operation was to seize strategically important regions to ensure control over the basic water resources of Palestine, and also to establish a permanent link-up with Jerusalem, the western part of which the Zionist leadership already intended to announce as the capital of the state of Israel. During the course of "Operation Nakhshon," several dozen villages were seized in the territory allocated to the Arab state. At that time the first mass slaughter of Palestinian Arabs was committed, which became well-known to the world community--the murder of 254 inhabitants of the village of Deir-Yasin by terrorists from Etsel and Lekhi.

"Operation Nakhshon" had still not been successfully completed when the Haganah began two more operations--in the north and in "the Jerusalem corridor." On 12-16 April Jewish units seized villages around the center of the northern part of the Jordan Valley, and the Arab city of Shfaram. According to the official version of the Israeli rulers, the inhabitants of these cities fled. In actuality, they were exiled by order of the commander of the unit occupying the village.

During those days, from 15 to 21 April, elements of the Haganah continued to penetrate into the heart of the territory of the future Arab state, until they reached the western corridors of Jerusalem. This offensive--"Operation Harel"--marked the first actions to destroy the seized villages: the villages of Bidu and Beyt-Surik were wiped out.

After seizing the "Jerusalem corridor," the focus of the military operations of Haganah shifted to the north, to the region of Galilee, the majority of which was supposed to go to make up the Arab state. In the second half of April and the first half of May, Jewish units carried out "Operation Matate" ("Broom"), in the course of which dozens of villages were seized on the border between Palestine and Lebanon. The Arab-populated Lower Galilee, with its center in Nazareth, was cut off from the outside world, and its final capture and annexation to Israel was a matter of a few days.

Thus, by the time the British mandate expired and the government of Israel was proclaimed in May 1948, substantial territories which the UN resolution had intended for the creation of the Arab state were under the control of armed units subordinate to the Zionist leadership in Palestine. All of these territories were held by Israel in the course of the war of 1948-1949.

#### "Exile in 24 Hours!"

Before the war, approximately 800,000-850,000 Arabs lived in the territory gained by Israel in 1949. By the time the cease-fire agreement was signed, 100,000 of them remained. In subsequent years, thanks to the efforts of the UN, about another 80,000 people were able to return to their native homes under the aegis of the reuniting in families. Thus, more than 600,000 Arabs living in Palestine were turned into refugees during the war.

How did the problem of Palestinian refugees arise? In examining this question we again run into Zionist myths which began to be exposed only recently. Here, for example, is a statement made by the Israeli representative to the

UN, Abba Eban: "The Arab governments created the refugee problem by their unprovoked invasion of Israel.... In November 1947 Arab armies began a decisive offensive on the Jewish sector of Palestine. Thousands of defeated Arabs (in the course of military actions--D.P.) sought refuge in Arab countries. Arab leaders made every effort to persuade them to leave Israel."<sup>2</sup>

The usual method of Zionist propaganda is a half-truth, which is worse than an outright lie. Arab armies declared war on Israel not in November of 1947 but in May of 1948. A trivial difference? Not quite: it was between November 1947 and May 1948 that the Zionists violated the UN resolution, seizing a substantial part of the territory of the Arab state. After "Operation Nakhshonh," "Operation Harel," and others, the May offensive of Arab troops appears in a different light: in any case, it cannot be considered "unprovoked."

And here is another half-truth: the Arab leaders "making every effort to persuade Arabs to leave Israel." For example, it is well-known that Haifa was abandoned by most of the Arab populace because of an appeal by the Arab leadership. The flight of thousands of Arabs from Jaffa looked approximately the same from the outside. But it is not difficult to understand what caused this decision of the Arab leadership in both cases, when one becomes acquainted with the recollections of contemporaries of these events (please--not Arabs, but Israelis and pro-Zionist Western observers): in Haifa, for example, where the Jewish quarter was in the hills and the Arab quarter in the lower part of the city, terrorists from Etsel rolled drums of burning oil down onto the homes of Arabs over the course of several weeks.<sup>3</sup> As for Jaffa, its capture was entrusted by the Zionist leadership to battalions made up of members of terrorist groups which joined the Israeli army and operated by "cloak and dagger" methods. As early as the first 2 weeks of May, before the decision by the Arab command, most of the inhabitants were forced to flee the city to save their lives.

Not long before the Arabs escaped from Haifa and Jaffa, in mid-May of 1948, the Arab populace abandoned Tsfas. Here it was not necessary to bring in Begin's terrorists--it was enough to cut off the food supply and disrupt the living quarters with artillery fire for several days.

The flight of the Arab population provoked by Zionists before the state of Israel was proclaimed on 14 May 1948 was, however, nothing compared to what happened afterwards--in the course of military actions and during the days of the first truces in December of 1948. The overwhelming majority of Palestinian Arabs were turned into refugees at this stage of the war. Israeli social figure and journalist U. Avneri, who was himself a soldier in 1948, reports that the Israeli command gave the order to kill Arabs trying to return to the villages which they had left during the battles. He comes to a simple conclusion: "There can now be no question that at least after May 1948 there already existed a systematic policy to expel Arabs from all territories which had been seized by the Jewish forces."<sup>4</sup>

For more than 20 years Israeli rulers categorically denied the fact that Arabs were banished. The first evidence that this sort of order existed was published in a book of memoirs of former Israeli premier Y. Rabin, who

acknowledged that after the capture of the cities of Ramle and Lida in summer of 1948 (in a territory allocated for the Arab state), the inhabitants were ordered to leave them within 24 hours.<sup>5</sup>

This action was not an isolated episode. Soon after, evidence came in concerning the expulsion of Arabs from Beersheba and a large number of villages. The government plan called for "as quick an expulsion of Arabs as possible" from all territories under the control of the Israelis. And this plan was carried out almost completely. Only in Galilee did a substantial number of Arabs remain--not because the government abandoned its plans, but only because in the Israeli army (TsAKhAL) there was an honest officer who refused to carry out the criminal order--Ben Dunkelman, commander of the 7th Brigade.

Here is what he wrote in his memoirs:<sup>6</sup> Immediately after the speech in favor of the cease-fire agreement, "H. Laskov, TsAKhAL commander in Galilee, came to me with a staggering order: to 'evacuate' the civilian populace of Nazareth. I was surprised and alarmed. I said that I would not do this: where we had promised to preserve order, to protect the inhabitants of the city, these measures could bring only harm. I pointed out to him that only the night before we had both signed a document for surrender of the city, which promised in writing that nothing would be done to harm its residents." Dunkelman went on to say that he demanded a written order from Ben-Gurion. But the latter was not provided, of course, to do this, as it would leave incriminating evidence.

#### Dividing the Spoils

As a result of the war of 1948, a substantial part of the lands and other property in Palestine was transferred from the possession of Arabs into the possession of Jews. In 1947 in the territory which subsequently became the state of Israel, the Jews (private individuals and organizations) owned 1,775,000 dunams of land, and the Arabs--4,425,000 dunams. According to the land survey of 1949, the area in possession of the Arabs totaled 820,000 dunams in all.<sup>7</sup> More than 3.5 million dunams--over 80 percent of the land belonging to the Arabs--was proclaimed "abandoned property" and taken under the administration of the state.

This was the first loot seized in the framework of the "Great Robbery of the Palestinians" by the government of Israel. Some 650,000 Palestinian Arabs, fleeing from the war or expelled by the Israeli army, left cultivated fields, plantations of citrus and olives, fruit orchards and vineyards, factories, stores, craft shops, residential homes, businesses and vast personal property.

The total value of the "abandoned" personal property totaled, according to estimates of the UN Agency for Providing Aid to Refugees, \$330 million--a sum equal to the gross national product of Israel for the first 3 years of its existence. This does not include the value of the lands and other property belonging to Arab organizations and wakfu (vakfu). Nor does it include the value of lands of Arabs who continued to live in Israel but lost them as a



result of the confiscations at the end of the 1940s, which were implemented on the basis of colonial laws of "extraordinary circumstances."

Part of the "abandoned" property was stolen as early as during the battles and immediately afterward by soldiers who were "hunting for souvenirs," mainly men serving in the rear and civilians, who hauled away everything that was not nailed down.<sup>8</sup> But all of these were trifles compared to the truly vast riches on which the officials of the Zionist state apparatus and the "Administration of Abandoned Property" laid their hands."

Most of the accumulated loot consisted of real estate--lands and buildings. Some of them were used in further developing the Zionist plan--in installing new immigrants. A total of 123,669 Jews living in Israel between May 1948 and May 1950 were relocated in the "abandoned" Arab homes.<sup>9</sup> Some 200,000 Jews were settled in the "abandoned" lands in the first 5 years of existence of the state of Israel.

The remaining property was divided between indirect thieves--Zionist activists and the large Jewish bourgeoisie of Palestine. In 1948-1950 the government leased (for a period of 50 years, for an extremely low payment and with substantial tax advantages) millions of dunams of farmland to Jewish farmers. These lands were divided approximately equally between Jewish rural bourgeoisie--planters and farmers--and the cooperative sector--moshavim and kibbutzim. In the cities, the land was partially given over to state construction companies and the Gistadrut "Shikun ovdim," but were mainly "leased" to land speculators and private contractors, whom could not be said to have gotten rich overnight only because they had previously been more than rich. As a result, more than half of the stolen real estate went to a few dozen families of the Israeli elite: Kikiya in Jerusalem, Karso, Mugarbi, Geler, and Loventin in Tel-Aviv, Rokeakh and Sair in Petakh-Tikva, Yabets in Kholon, Ben-Ami and Makhnas in Netanin, Matlon and Tayber in Ramat-Asharon, and so forth.

In order to justify the theft legally, in 1950 the "Law Concerning the Property of Absentee Owners" was passed. The "absentees" --that is, those whose lands could be confiscated without any compensation, were not only refugees. This category included all those who changed their place of residence during the war of 1948 (even if they remained in the territory of Israel), and those who were not in Israel at the time that independence was proclaimed (even if they returned to the country the next day). The expression "all those who," used in the law, does not, it is true, indicate that the law is directed against Arabs, but naturally, the property of some people who were truly absent from Israel--Rothschilds, Eisenbergs, Wolfsons, Bronfmans, and others--was not subject to confiscation. During the entire period of existence of the state of Israel, there has not been a case where a non-Arab was proclaimed to be a "absentee owner."

Again "Seizing Land" and "Seizing Labor"

The seizure of Arab property by the Zionist leadership of Israel during the period of the war of 1948 was not the last stage in the process of robbing Palestinians in the territory of Israel. As a matter of fact, this process



has not ceased even for a minute, only the methods have changed. During the war it was possible to operate according to martial law--by forcible expulsion, and in certain cases--even mass murders.

After the war, Zionist leaders returned by and large to their former methods of "seizing land" and "seizing labor," which had been tested during the mandate, with the only difference being that now the entire force of the state and its apparatus of repression was at their disposal.

In the 1950s, special emphasis was laid on forcing Israeli Arabs out of national production. These were years of mass unemployment caused mainly by the inability of the Israeli economy to cope with the massive influx of immigrants, most of whom did not have adequate qualifications. At this time, the Arabs, who made up 15 percent of the population of the country, produced even on the lands remaining to them more than a third of all agricultural goods produced.<sup>10</sup> The point was, the Arabs were a less expensive and better qualified work force than most of the Jewish immigrants, and competed successfully with them in the labor market. And this posed a threat to the absorption of immigrants in Israel--the main condition for accomplishing the task set by the Zionists of creating a Jewish state.

The Arabs were forced out of Israel's economy mainly by administrative measures--above all by using the regime of military administration created in all regions with a predominantly Arab population.

According to the data of 1953, out of 175,000 Israeli Arabs, 100,000 lived in zones of military administration. All the fullness of power in these regions belonged to the military administrator, who had the right to limit the freedom of movement of local inhabitants by any means. Since, as a result of widespread land confiscations at the end of the 1940s, it was in these regions that the most vicious unemployment held sway among the Arab population, the fellahim tried to get work with Jewish planters or industrialists, who as a rule preferred them to the more "spoiled" Jewish workers. But in order to work in a Jewish region, an Arab had to get a permit from the office of the military administrator, and the military administrator had precise instructions not to give out such permits. As a result, every Arab working for wages was in violation of the law on grounds of national security. In the 1950s, especially the first half of the decade, the ruling powers regularly carried out mass raids against "illegal workers," and each time dozens (sometimes even hundreds) of Arabs were thrown in jail only because they were working for wages in a country of which they were citizens.

True, in the 1960s the situation in the field of employment changed. Up until very recently in Israel there was no mass unemployment, and at least for low-paying work Arabs were readily hired. Accordingly, the need for a regime of military administration faded, and it was revoked.

This did not mean, of course, that discrimination against Arabs in hiring disappeared. Arab citizens in Israel were completely officially denied the opportunity to get a job in any enterprise of the military industry, or to hold a number of administrative posts. The employment of Arabs was limited in

Arabs was limited in sectors of the economy such as power engineering, electronics, fine machine building, and so forth.

As the slogan of "seizing labor" lost its urgency, the program of "seizing land" from Arabs gained new impetus. One of the first legal acts passed after the creation of the state of Israel was the "Law of Unworked Lands," which gave the leaders the right to confiscate for minimal compensation any areas not being used at a given time for agricultural crops or buildings. In combination with the laws of military administration, where the administrator in a number of cases could arbitrarily forbid fellahim to go out in the field, the "Law of Unworked Lands" created broad opportunities for confiscating Arab real property.

The confiscation was carried out based on the "Law Concerning Absentee Owners." It was enough to assign to the category of "absentees" that member of the family in whose name the documents had been drawn up in the land survey in order to confiscate, without compensation, areas belonging to the entire family. This practice was carried out even more widely since during the war many land survey documents had been lost.

However, even when the land could not be confiscated on "legal" grounds, the ruling powers nevertheless still had ways to make it their own. Here is a typical example from the journal AOLAM AZE. "The village of Mafjar is located near Hadera. It has existed for 250 years, and all the lands are registered for its inhabitants in land survey books. In 1956 the ruling powers mounted a campaign to expel the residents of the village. A paper factory in Hadera began to release production wastes into the natural water source there. When the peasants complained to the municipality, it was ordered that the canal drainage also be directed there. In the village there was drinking water whose very color--dirty black--caused revulsion. Many children suffered serious kidney illnesses, from quenching their thirst with this water. But people had no choice...."

The journal also reports that the village was not permitted to hook into the electrical network--despite the fact that it was in the very center of the country, a kilometer away from the largest electrical power station in Israel. The regional architectural administration forbid construction of any buildings in the territory of the village. The municipal councillor of Mafjar, Ali al-Kasi, who tried to stand up for the rights of his fellow villagers, was immediately paid back for this: the ruling powers sent a bulldozer which piled up sand around al-Kasi's home right up to the roof....

These policies of Zionist rulers, naturally, are leading to a situation in which Arab lands in Israel continue to be transferred into the hands of the state apparatus, and from there--to various kinds of speculators and defenders of the ruling regime. From the end of 1949 to May 1967 alone, Arab land property was reduced from 820,000 to 545,000 dunams.<sup>12</sup> And in the last 15 years it has been reduced by an equal amount! Whereas at the time the state of Israel was proclaimed there were 585 Arab villages in the territory controlled by Jewish military units, according to current statistical data 107 of them remain--less than 20 percent of the former number.

The robbery of Palestians in Israel continues....

#### FOOTNOTES

1. All these expansionist actions of Jewish units are confirmed by data presented in the "Atlas of the History of Palestine," published in Jerusalem in 1972 ("Atlas Karta letoldot erets Israel mereshit ant'yashvut vead kom amedina"--Here and subsequently, publications in Hebrew are given in Russian transliteration).
2. From a speech at the UN General Assembly on 18 November 1955, quoted in A. Eben, "Davar el khaamim," Tel-Aviv, 1959, pp 163-164.
3. This is attested by such an outspoken Zionist as L. Uris (see L. Uris, "Exodus," Jerusalem, 1970, p 639).
4. AOLAM AZE, No 2236, 1980, p 34.
5. It is interesting that this information too was initially censored from Rabin's book. But one Israeli journalist managed to get a photocopy of the manuscript out of the country and publish it in newspapers. The censorship had to be given up.
6. Under the pressure of the Zionists, this excerpt was not published in the book. But a facsimile of it came to the Israeli journal AOLAM AZE and was published in 1980.
7. Calculated according to "Atlas Karta letoldot erets Israel'" and S. Weitz, "Land Ownership." In: "Immigration and Settlement," Jerusalem, Keter Publishing House, 1973.
8. See Shlomo Frenkel, "Amakhlitanim," p 5, [transliterated]--AOLAM AZE, No 2201, 1979, p 19.
9. Zvi Zinger, State of Israel, in "Immigration and Settlement," p 57.
10. See AOLAM AZE, 22 November 1952.
11. AOLAM AZE, No 2102, 1977, p 28.
12. Calculated according to S. Weitz, "Land Ownership."

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### THIRD WORLD ISSUES

#### U.S. PLANS FOR MICRONESIA ATTACKED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 8, Aug 85 pp 49-50

[Article by Z. Matyushina: "Micronesia"]

[Text] In the Pacific Ocean, in a vast area approximately equal to the territory of the United States, are distributed the beads of three tropical archipelagos--the Mariana Islands, Caroline Islands, and Marshall Islands, known collectively as Micronesia, which means "Country of Small Islands" (they number more than 2,000, while their total area is only 1,800 square kilometers). These three archipelagos are officially called a UN trust territory, the Pacific Ocean Islands. The population of the region, 136,000 people, lives on 96 islands, the rest being uninhabited.

The colonial history of these islands stretches across centuries, from the Middle Ages to today. The first owners of Micronesia were the Spanish, who went there in the 16th century. They used it for guarding shipping between their colonies of Mexico and the Philippines. At the end of the last century, Spain, weakened by its war with the United States, "yielded" the Caroline and Mariana Islands for 25 million pesetas to the Kaiser's Germany, which had already seized the Marshall Islands. During World War I, Micronesia was seized by Japan. It received a mandate from the League of Nations to administer this territory. After Japan's defeat in World War II, Micronesia was included in the trustee system of the United Nations. In 1947, the UN Security Council granted a mandate for temporary administration of Micronesia to the United States government. This mandate was given to the United States in the name of international fellowship with precisely stipulated goals: to promote political, economic, and social progress of the population of the territories, and their development in the direction of self-administration or independence.

In the more than 3 centuries of activity of "guardians" in Micronesia, not only has a modern economic base not been created, but, in essence, the traditional social-economic structure which functioned previously has been completely destroyed. The local populace is no longer in a position to feed itself. The fishing developed in the past is now practically forgotten--the fishing rights in Micronesian waters were given to the Japanese, who sell canned fish...to the Micronesians. The production of copra from coconuts has



been reduced to a miserly level. Agriculture, which along with fishing formerly fed the island dwellers, is practically nonexistent.

The Micronesians have a saying: "If you give a man one fish, he can eat for one day. Teach a man to catch fish, and you give him food for his entire life." Paraphrasing this saying to apply to Micronesia, one might say that the United States is giving the inhabitants of Micronesia one fish per day, condemning them to a beggar's existence.

Since the first years of the American administration in Micronesia, the actual mandate for guardianship has been held by the Pentagon, which converted it into a gigantic military base. The United States constructed there military seaports, airfields, and ranges for testing nuclear and missile weaponry, evicting the island inhabitants from regions which took the fancy of American generals. It is enough to recall the tragedy of the inhabitants of the Bikini and Eniwetok Atolls (Marshall Islands), where 66 nuclear tests were carried out from 1946 to 1958. A grim reminder of that time will always be the dead island of Runit in the Eniwetok Atoll, once covered with splendid plant life, now buried in concrete, where man will not be able to live for 25,000 years! The tragedy of Bikini and Eniwetok is now being repeated on Kwajalein, where the once-beautiful lagoon serves as a target for missiles launched from the west coast of America, and the 8,000 local inhabitants have been unceremoniously dumped onto the island of Ebeil, where there are no conditions for normal life. The same fate threatens the inhabitants of other atolls of Micronesia.

After the defeat in Vietnam, when the Americans were forced to withdraw from Indochina, the significance of Micronesia as a strategic zone of the United States increased greatly. Billions of dollars were allocated by the Pentagon to expand existing bases and create new ones. In addition, the United States turned the trust territory into its own nuclear cellar. Whereas earlier ships and submarines with nuclear weapons on board sailed there, now, despite the protests of the local populace, these weapons are stored right on the islands. For example, America ballistic missile bases have been created on the archipelago of Palau (Caroline Islands); and two-thirds of the island of Saipan (Mariana Islands) are taken up with military projects: here there is an airfield for strategic bombers, and bases are being created for aircraft carriers and submarines. On the island of Tinian, where in August 1945 the airplanes took off to drop atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, there is also an airfield for strategic bombers, and depots for nuclear ammunition are being planned. New arsenals and communications stations are also being erected on the Marshall Islands. Systematically converting Micronesia into the most militarized part of the Pacific Ocean, the Pentagon is creating bridgeheads there for possible intervention in Asia and to secure the "vital interests" of the United States in the Indian Ocean right up to the shores of Africa.

Working on the principle of "divide and conquer," Washington has undertaken a course of illegally partitioning the trust territory and actually absorbing it piece by piece. The status of a so-called "commonwealth," proposed to the populace of Micronesia in 1970 by American ruling powers, which actually would have strengthened the military, political, and economic dominion of the United

States over this territory, provoked the decisive protest of the Micronesians. Then, using threats and pressure, and kindling separatist moods, Washington succeeded in taking the Mariana Islands away from Micronesia. In 1975, they were proclaimed the "Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands," with a status similar to that held by Puerto Rico, which is justly considered an American colony by the entire world. Full powers in military questions and in the field of international relations were placed in the hands of the United States.

Having made short work of the Mariana Islands, the American "guardians" rushed to "determine the fate" of the rest of Micronesia, especially since in 1971 the time of guardianship of the United States over this territory officially expired. By 1980, Washington had partitioned it into three more "state" formations--the Federated State of Micronesia, the Marshall Islands, and the Republic of Belau (the Palau Archipelago). Binding them to an agreement of "free association" with the United States, under which the United States grants all three formations internal self-administration and a certain freedom of action in the sphere of international relations, Washington reserved to itself full rights and powers in the area of defense.

The agreement of "free association" was subject to approval in plebiscites organized under the supervision of the United States in each of these three "state" structures. But this maneuver by Washington did not succeed. For example, at the plebiscite set for 17 August 1982, local rulers of the Marshall Islands intended to submit the agreement of "free association," while leaving as an alternative for the population the possibility of speaking out for full independence of the territory. These "liberties" clearly did not suit the United States, and the plebiscite was called off. "It turns out that we can choose only among forms of colonial rule, and nothing more," said Arion Debrum, secretary of foreign affairs of the Marshall Islands. In the Republic of Belau, the Americans three times annulled the results of a plebiscite on the constitution of the country, since it called for strictly forbidding operations with nuclear weapons on the islands, which would be a blow to the plans of the "guardians." Under conditions of prolonged tension, at the end of June 1985 the president of the republic was assassinated by persons or persons unknown.

Fearing further opposition by the local populace to their plans to partition Micronesia, the United States rejected attempts to hold the plebiscites on the trust territory, including even in the Federated States of Micronesia.

In March 1984, the standing representatives of the USSR to the UN appealed in a letter to the UN general secretary on the question of the trust territory the Pacific Ocean Islands (Micronesia). The letter said, in particular: "The Soviet Union has already called the attention of the UN to the illegal actions of the United States with regard to Micronesia, which are aimed at splitting up this single trust territory and binding its individual parts to nonsovereign status as so-called 'commonwealths' and 'free associates'.... The illegal actions undertaken by the United States with regard to Micronesia are not only hindering the implementation of the inalienable rights of the population of this territory to true self-determination, freedom, and independence, but are also creating a serious threat to the security of the countries adjacent to

this region, and international peace as a whole. They are an open challenge to the UN and cannot help but arouse the indignation and alarm of the world."

The rude trampling on UN resolutions was also called to the attention of the international public at a meeting of the UN Committee for Decolonization, which began discussing the question of Micronesia in June 1984. The Micronesians should be assured their rights to freedom and independence, declared S. Roff, director of a group for defending the rights of national minorities, who spoke at the meeting of the committee. Meanwhile, in order to mask the annexation of the Pacific Ocean Islands, she emphasized, the United States have even invented a new "legal" concept--the status of "free association."

The population of Micronesia rejects the neocolonialist plans of the United States. It is struggling for the true freedom of its native land.

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### THIRD WORLD ISSUES

#### BOOK ON U.S. MIDDLE EAST POLICY REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 8, Aug 85 p 62

[Review by R. Borisov, doctor of historical sciences, of book by Ye. M. Primakov, "Istoriya odnogo sgovora (Blizhnevostochnaya politika SShA v 70-e--nachale 80-x godov" [History of One Deal (Middle East Policies of the United States in the 1970s and Early 1980s)], Moscow, Politizdat, 1985, 319 pp]

[Text] The book by Academician Ye. M. Primakov gives a multi-tier analysis of the policies of the United States in the Middle East in the 1970s and 1980s. It investigates with particular thoroughness one of the main thrusts of the Middle Eastern policy of Washington during this period--its Camp David strategy, which was specifically reflected in the Egypt-Israel separate agreement concluded in March 1979 and in the active attempts by the United States to secure analogous separate deals between Israel and the other Arab nations which are involved in the Middle East conflict.

The book thoroughly reveals the basic aspects of the Camp David agreement and its political results. The author subjects to critical analysis the pro-American anti-Soviet course of Sadat, showing the personality of this Egyptian leader, his lack of principles, cunning, and secret ties to Washington. The book discusses how Sadat deviated from the course of President Nasser, established a regime of personal power in the country, and disrupted the previously created economic structures, as a result of which the country fell into a spider's web of neocolonial ties with Washington, which opened up broad access to foreign capital in Egypt.

The book reveals the complex and in many ways contradictory course of American policies in the Middle East region: on the one hand, the United States counts on strengthening its strategic union with Israel, and on the other hand, Washington is oriented toward close military and economic cooperation with right-wing Arab regimes, especially Egypt.

Touching on the mechanism by which the Middle Eastern policy of the United States is developed, the author emphasizes the role of the Zionist lobby and other lobby groups in forming it. He justly concludes that the long-term calculations of the United States, are aimed at using the Camp David agreement to put together a stable Israel-Egypt alliance with a concealed anti-Soviet slant, to frustrate the efforts to achieve a just peace in the Middle East, to



isolate the Soviet Union and other progressive forces from the process of Middle Eastern settlement, to keep the Palestine Liberation Organization from participating in it, and to discredit the very idea of creating a sovereign and independent Palestinian state.

But the arrangement of forces in the Arab world which developed during the period of implementing the Camp David policies promoted a situation where, despite the diplomatic efforts of Washington and the military pressure simultaneously exerted by Israel, the administration of United States President Carter, and then of Reagan, did not manage to inveigle a single Arab state (apart from Egypt) into the Camp David system. On the contrary, in the Arab world a precise watershed developed between the position of Egypt and that of most other countries of the region, which within the framework of all-Arab decisions severed diplomatic ties with Cairo and subjected it to fairly complete isolation.

The author rightly points out that in the Middle East policies of Washington after Camp David there were not any sort of new initiatives which might have promoted the achievement of a settlement in the Middle East conflict. Reagan's plan, which he advanced in September 1982, was nothing other than a new version of the very same Camp David policy, closing off the path to a true and just settlement of the conflict, and especially to resolving the problem of a Palestinian state. Emphasizing the anti-Soviet nature of the Camp David agreement, Ye. M. Primakov traces the double-dealing, treacherous policy in resolving the Middle East problem of both the United States and Egypt, which on the one hand assured the Soviet Union of their attempts to support the invocation of a conference for peaceful settlement of the conflict, and on the other hand held to a course in a completely different direction, undermining a settlement and the calling of the conference.

The heightened aggressiveness in the policies of Israel following the conclusion of the Egypt-Israel agreement was one of the results of the Camp David accord. This is demonstrated, in particular, by the aggression against Lebanon begun by Tel-Aviv in June 1982 with the complicity of the United States, the occupation of a substantial part of Lebanese territory, and the attempts by Israeli rulers to create the conditions for incorporating the southern part of Lebanon into the body of so-called "greater Israel."

On the whole, the book of Ye. M. Primakov is a topical study of the Middle Eastern policies of the United States, and a significant contribution to the part of Soviet historical science which is concerned with the handling of Middle East problems. The value of the work is in its combination of various elements of an extremely complex situation in the Middle East region with the presentation of rich factual material, most of which first appeared in Soviet scientific publications. This material bears out the author's conclusion on the lack of foresightedness of the Camp David deal for the United States in its long-term plan, and the presence in the region of forces which are able to overcome the plotting of American imperialism and its stooges.

In giving high praise to the work by Academician Ye. M. Primakov, it should be noted that in his work he extended the conclusions and generalizations already

made by Soviet scientists, and presented new facts and documents which brought the problem of studying the Middle East to a qualitatively new level.

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12255

CSO: 1807/6

### THIRD WORLD ISSUES

#### BOOK ON ROLE OF OIL IN IRANIAN POLITICS REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 8, Aug 85 pp 62-63

[Review by V. Zaytsev, candidate of historical sciences, of book by S. M. Aliyev, "Neft' i obshchestvenno-politicheskoye razvitiye Irana XX v." [Oil and the Sociopolitical Development of Iran in the 20th Century], Moscow, Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka", 1985, 302 pp]

[Text] The monograph under review undertakes to evaluate the significance of the so-called oil factor in the social-political development of Iran since the time it developed up until the present.

The author presents in his study one of the most revealing and characteristic slices of sociopolitical life in Iran of the 20th century. There is a close intertwining and complex interaction here of a multitude of objective economic and political preconditions, the interests and aspirations of classes, social strata, and groups, the desires and ambitions of figures on various scales and with various orientations, the world situation and the specific problems of Iran, the evolution of the country's economy, and the upheavals of the political struggle. In this labyrinth of events and problems, S. M. Aliyev attempts to isolate the most significant, landmark phenomena, examining them not only as turning points in the history of the petroleum industry of Iran, but also as essential components of the revolutionary process in that country.

In this context, theoretical generalization of the experience of the long struggle of patriotic and progressive forces in Iran to restore the main natural wealth of the country to sovereign national control acquires special scientific and political urgency.

As the monograph shows, this struggle was an integral part of the anti-imperialist national-liberation movement in Iran of recent times, and at specific stages has largely determined the nature of socioeconomic development of the country, and the political situation which developed there. For example, while the movement for nationalization of the oil industry (1949-1953) was a powerful method for strongly motivating the broad masses of the populace of the country, especially the urban masses, promoted their unification under anti-imperialist slogans, and threatened the very existence of the ruling regime, which had relied on the conservative strata of the ruling class and the comprehensive support of outside, imperialist forces,

later on the temporary stabilization of this regime was again largely connected with the influence of the oil factor.

In the chapter "White Revolution and Oil," the author traces the political evolution of the ruling regime as a function of the growth of profits of the Iranian prince from extorting oil. The author presents a fully substantiated conclusion that "the enhanced state finances were used by the Iranian bosses not only to develop the state sector in industry but also to reinforce the totalitarian-bureaucratic traits of the regime. On the social-economic level, the growth of oil profits and the development of the oil and gas industry brought a profit mainly to the state and the bosses of the Iranian bourgeoisie.... The gap between the rich and the poor under conditions of accelerated development of capitalism became wider and wider."

This conclusion must be included among the propositions which can be used to create a theoretical base for objective and balanced evaluation of the social-political preconditions and progressive forces of the Iranian revolution of 1978-1979.

The reader will note with particular interest the contents of the final chapter of the monograph, where the author examines the oil policies of the ruling powers of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and defines the role of the oil factor in the revolution and in the current social-political situation in the country. "On the whole," says S. M. Aliyev, "there have been few actual changes in the structure of exporting the output of the oil and gas industry. Iran remains essentially an exporter of crude oil."

S. M. Aliyev's study is based on a great deal and a wide variety of information, drawn from a multitude of Iranian and other sources. The author has studied the extensive historiography of the problem, but unfortunately, the work does not contain a review which would have given the reader an idea of the most significant and authoritative works of Iranian, Western, and Soviet researchers on the history of Iranian oil, and also of the scientific concepts characteristic of this sector of modern Iranian studies, and of general research on the oil question.

The author's approach to examining the international aspects of the oil problem is well-founded. Without plunging into a specialized analysis of the endless complex processes which determine the volatile state of the world market for oil and petroleum products, S. M. Aliyev nevertheless considers it necessary to present, if only in a very general view, the essence of the phenomena which either directly or indirectly affect the position of Iran, especially the state of its finances and its relations with other oil-producing countries and countries which purchase oil. Thus, the author advances an interpretation for the reasons for the multiple price increases for oil in the world market at the end of 1973 and the uneven but steady upward trend in these prices right up until the fall of 1981 which seems pertinent and fairly convincing, though far from exhaustive.

By no means all of the author's positions and assessments can be taken without reservation. Some of his judgments must be acknowledged to be debatable. This particularly applies to his assessment of the various stages of the



political struggle in Iran after the overthrow of the monarchy, and to the characterization of the class orientation of its current leadership. But differences of opinion on these problems are fully reasonable, since it is a question of unfinished processes of extreme complexity.

The broad social repercussions caused by the anti-imperialist, antimonarchic revolution in Iran have aroused marked interest from a wide circle of readers in the history of this country, in particular studies on the problems of its current development. S. M. Aliyev's monograph will unquestionably be greeted with great attention not only by specialists but also by anyone who wants to become more fully acquainted, and in greater depth, with what is occurring in Iran today.

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UNITED STATES AND CANADA

ALLEGED CIA-VATICAN LINKS HIT

PM011637 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 43, Oct 85 pp 26-27

[Article by A. Svetin: "'It Doesn't Go To Pray'"]

[Text] Quite a lot is being written lately in the West about the Vatican and its approach to the solution of the problems of war and peace, hunger and poverty, human rights and social justice. In these writings the Vatican and the U.S. administration are often presented as partners. Moreover, the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States is singled out as the main element of this partnership.

Roland Flamini, an American, was the first Western journalist to write a voluminous book about the relations between the CIA and the Vatican. The MacMillan Publishing House in New York has brought out his book under the title, "Pope, Premier, President."

Is there really an alliance between the United States and the Vatican or is the fact that their foreign policy activity coincides in many respects just a matter of chance? To believe Gordan Thomas and Max Morgan-Witts, authors of the serious study, "The Year of Armageddon," there is nothing fortuitous about it. The silence that was Washington's reaction to the book, on the one hand, and its complete refutation by the Vatican, on the other hand, give grounds to conclude that the authors were not wrong. The United States and the Vatican are coordinating efforts to perpetuate capitalist exploitation and consolidate imperialism's positions where they have not yet been destroyed by social revolutions.

As to the CIA's ties with the Vatican, by no means everything written on the subject in the Western press is true, of course. This is understandable, because the CIA itself sometimes "supplies" authors with misinformation that suits the purposes of the United States and arranges "leaks" of secrets through its agents. But the truth, if only a few grains of it, will out.

As it is noted in the book, "The Year of Armageddon," the ties between the Vatican and the U.S. secret service have a long history. During the Second World War William Donovan, head of the Office of Strategic Services (in 1947 it was transformed into the CIA), began to establish contacts with the Vatican. It was not the State Department but the secret service that was

chosen by the U.S. Administration to act as intermediary. Evidently, the White House felt that in this case the clandestine methods of the secret service were more suitable.

The desire for cooperation was mutual. In the 1940's, Pope Pius XII was in no way embarrassed by the frequent visits to his residence in St Peter's Square by staff members of Washington's espionage establishment, including Donovan himself. Pius XII, the organizer of the "crusade against communism," thought highly of American intelligence, as was eloquently illustrated by the fact that in July 1944 he presented Donovan with the highest award of the Vatican--the Grand Cross of the Order of Saint Sylvester.

The authors of the book believe that the CIA and the Vatican carried out their first joint action as far back as 1948, during the parliamentary elections in Italy. James Angleton, the resident agent in Rome at the time, and Pope Pius XII shared the view that the leaders of the Christian Democratic Party should be placed in power in Italy, while the Communists, who had a good chance of winning at the polls, should be relegated to the background. The CIA and the Vatican chose the right-wing Catholic Action organization as the main anticommunist strike force. With CIA money and the moral support of Pius XII this organization set up 18,000 "civic committees" which launched a massive anti-communist campaign.

The success in Italy whetted the CIA's appetite. A special cash fund, known as "project money," was established in the American secret service in 1952 when the Italian network was headed by William Colby, subsequently director of the CIA. Within the framework of this project large sums were spent on bribing Catholic Church leaders and on setting up "religious" front organizations that operated on CIA assignments. And all this on the pretext of "aiding and upholding Catholic values"...

The appearance of socialist states on the map of postwar Europe, the national liberation revolutions in the former colonies, the active inclusion in the class struggle of broad masses of Catholics could not but have an impact on the Vatican. However, this was manifested in different ways. The extreme right wing of the Catholic upper crust moved still further to the right. At the same time a considerable number of ordinary priests began to take a sober view of things and to give expression in their sermons to ideas that were far from pleasant for Washington.

On arriving at the conclusion that the "crusade against communism" had been a complete failure, Pope John XXIII began a cautious search for ways to a dialogue with the socialist countries. In doing so he was prompted not by any love for communism but by realization of the hopelessness of the policy of open confrontation with socialist countries and the desire to preserve the Vatican's prestige in catholic eyes. He instructed the Italian clergy to take a neutral stand in the political struggle between Communists and Christian Democrats during the parliamentary elections of 1963. In the view of experts in Langley this in effect signified an actual departure from open assistance to the bourgeois parties in Italy.

CIA reports on Vatican policy appeared with increasing frequency on the desk of John Kennedy, the first Catholic to become President of the United States. Reports from the CIA station in Rome abounded in warnings about the Vatican's "dangerous left-wing drift." Thus, Thomas Hercules Kalamasinas, the CIA resident agent in Rome, contended that the Pope was intensifying his criticism of regimes backed by Washington. In reports prepared for the President on the Vatican's "eastern policy" the CIA did not confine itself to a mere statement of fact. It often included conjectures and even elements of subtle misinformation.

The White House was alarmed. And with good reason; for the then CIA Director John McCone himself assessed the Vatican's "eastern policy" as fraught with "very serious" consequences for the United States. And so, with the President's approval, McCone ordered every effort be made to improve the CIA "intelligence capability" in the Vatican. The staff of Vatican experts in the CIA swelled and more money was allocated for "work," i.e., for bribing churchmen. The dollar injections helped increase the flow of espionage information but the content of the information did nothing to allay the fears in the White House.

When Pope John XXIII died in 1963 he was replaced by Paul VI, who, like his predecessor, continued the "open doors" policy in respect of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. In his "eastern policy" Paul VI, too, was not guided by "procommunist sympathies." But he headed the Roman Catholic Church at a time when the political realities of the 1960's, first of all the upsurge of the national liberation movement and the growing influence of socialist ideas on the Catholic masses, objectively called for new moves on the part of the Vatican. The adoption in 1967 of the encyclical "Populorum progressio" (Progress of Peoples), in which the Pope actually criticized the oppression of the peoples of colonial countries was hardly a delight for the U.S. Administration. Neither did Washington like the establishment by Paul VI of personal contacts with official representatives of socialist countries and his "totally un-American" stand on the rheology of liberation.

Regardless of the ups and downs in the state relations between the United States and the Vatican, the CIA strove to penetrate deeper and deeper into the affairs and secrets of the Holy See. In Richard Nixon's time there was not a single Vatican secret or document in which the CIA did not show an interest through its paid agents in clerical circles. Under Gerald Ford the CIA expanded its activities still further, and this could not but prompt a reaction from the Pope. But the message sent by Paul VI to the White House demanding that the American intelligence stop recruiting agents from among the priesthood made no impact at all. On the contrary, the advent to power of the Carter Administration was marked by new espionage "acquisitions" by the CIA agents in Rome. In the winter of 1977-78 the CIA planted six listening devices in the premises of the Vatican's Secretariat of State, its government building and the Vatican bank. This enabled agents to listen in to the secret conversations conducted inside these buildings and to record them on tape.



In the late 1970's and early 1980's the CIA "Vaticanologists" made a determined effort to increase American influence through their channels. There were good reasons for this. The stormy political events in Latin American countries gave an impetus to emergence of an anti-U.S. and general anti-imperialist doctrine that became known as the theology of liberation. Under the banner of this doctrine the revolutionary struggle against dictatorial regimes and U.S. influence was joined by broad sections of rank-and-file Catholics and priests in many Latin American countries. In Africa and Western Europe many priests also joined popular actions against the policy of the White House. It became clear to the U.S. ruling circles that to tame the "rebellious priests" they needed their own, "more American" Pope and a still more effective channel for influencing the Vatican high-ups. David Yallop's book, "In God's Name," describes in detail how these two tasks were accomplished.

Paul VI, who died in 1978, was replaced by John Paul I--Albino Luciani--who from the very outset displayed a tendency to go even further than his predecessor against U.S. interests. This tendency, however, was not destined to come to fruition. On the 33rd day of this papacy, John Paul I, who had never been afflicted by any serious diseases, died suddenly in his residence without a single witness. In his book David Yallop contends that John Paul I was poisoned by enemies.

After Karol Wojtyla, John Paul II, was elected head of the Vatican in October 1978, the CIA made a resolute attempt to create a permanent channel of American influence on the upper echelons of the Roman Catholic Church. Hardly a month had passed when the chief CIA agent in Rome came to John Paul II for a highly confidential conversation. As Western journalists learned later, he offered to supply the Pope regularly with materials prepared in Langley and containing an "analysis" of the Soviet Union's policy in various regions of the world, the situation in China, the Middle East, in Africa and Latin America. Knowing that many in the Vatican were opposed to any contacts with the CIA, Pope John Paul II asked for time to consider this "kindness." But temptation prevailed and the Pope consented, and early in December 1978 the CIA-Vatican channel of misinformation began vigorously to function.

Since then, the authors of "The Year of Armageddon" point out, every Friday Pope John Paul II reads CIA materials suggesting how the Vatican should view world events. It does not matter, of course, whose reports the Pope reads. Exchange of information as such is routine in world practice. What matters is how the information supplied to the Pope and his associates is slanted. It follows, for instance, from these materials that the Russians are ahead of the Americans in almost all types of arms, that the Communists are "uprooting Catholicism," etc.

Before long there was a sigh of relief in the White House and in Langley. The pro-American influence of this channel of misinformation began to manifest itself ever more frequently in the people's speeches, decisions and pronouncements and in the entire foreign policy of the Vatican.

In the opinion of Gordon Thomas and Max Morgan-Witts, after the attempt on the life of John Paul II many in the Vatican and outside it began to ask themselves what role the CIA has played in the Agca affair. This question formented also Camilio Cibin, the head of the Vatican's security service. Who knew better than he that the CIA had been suspected more than once of involvement in "shady business" inside the Vatican. Cibin suspected that at any rate the CIA knew about the preparations by the neo-fascist Grey Wolves organization to assassinate the Pope. If so, why had it not warned him? The Holy See's indignation was so great that on the third day after the attempt on the Pope's life Secretary of State Agostino Casaroli demanded the expulsion from Italy of all resident agents of the American secret service in Rome. As a result, several CIA staffers were transferred or recalled to Langley.

The conclusion to be drawn from these facts set forth in "The Year of Armageddon" is that the relations between Washington and the Vatican are built on self-interest. For the United States the Vatican is a source of political and economic information that pours into the Holy See's Secretariat of State from the numerous nuncios and pro-nuncios in various regions of the world. Of no less importance to the United States is the ideological influence of the church which it tries to use in suppressing progressive movements in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and in Western Europe too for that matter. On their part, reactionary senior officials in the Vatican view the United States as the leading force in the new "crusade against communism."

There is indeed a great deal of truth in this current aphorism in Latin America: "When the CIA goes to church, it doesn't go to pray."

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CSO: 1812/033

## UNITED STATES AND CANADA

### ZORIN COMMENTARY CRITICIZES REAGAN UN ADDRESS

LD030802 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 2 Nov 85

[Commentary by Valentin Zorin]

[Text] In his United Nations speech last week President Reagan made another policy turnabout, thus confirming the sad hallmark of his administration. For weeks preceding the Soviet-American summit in Geneva it was believed without a shade of doubt that the two leaders could look for an agreement to stop the relentless arms race, keep outer space peaceful and dramatically reduce the risk of nuclear war. Everybody was certain that they would consider other major global problems, including relations between the two countries, but the top priority of the talks between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States should be to try to stop the world's dangerous slide towards a nuclear abyss.

There are many reasons why President Reagan's speech at the United Nations is disappointing. Its tone can hardly be regarded as conducive to productive talks. But it was not the worse thing about the speech. It's far more negative that the President said the main problem he was going to discuss in Geneva was the settlement of regional conflicts. It wouldn't have been incomprehensible for the President to propose regional conflicts as an issue at the Geneva summit, but it's certainly baffling that he is bringing it up as the issue. What the President of the United States does is dramatically shift political accents. In fact, he is proposing a new agenda for the talks. It would be my least intention to overlook the dangers inherent in existing conflict situations. There are really bad flashpoints fraught with far reaching negative consequences, but the President of the United States mentioned only Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Kampuchea, Ethiopia and Angola. He said nothing about the situation in southern Africa, the Middle East or Chile. The omissions certainly placed his concept of regional conflicts in a doubtful perspective.

Sad as it is, much of human history has been a history of war. It has been waged for millennia. Prior to the two World Wars of this century those using the present phrase "regional conflicts" carried off tens of millions of lives and destroyed great values, but this is the first time in its history that the human race is facing the threat of self-annihilation. It's indeed the curse of our day that a nuclear war on earth, in the air or in space would mean the

end of human race. It must be perfectly clear that among the urgent problems facing the world the most urgent is the problem of halting the nuclear arms race and stopping it from spreading to space. This is the road to survival.

That being so, it's a manifestation of shortsightedness by Washington to evade these problems in Geneva. It appears that it's not ready to discuss the far-reaching Soviet proposals which can drastically change the situation in the world. The administration is now trying to cover up its unpreparedness with political maneuvering, but it should realize that it's going to fool nobody. It's high time to take practical action.

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CSO: 1812/029



UNITED STATES AND CANADA

REAGAN'S 'ONE-SIDED APPROACH TO REGIONAL CONFLICTS' HIT

LD051207 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1037 GMT 5 Nov 85

["Still Taking the Same Stand"--TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 5 Nov. TASS political observer Boris Shabayev writes: Which-ever way you turn it, whatever verbal packaging you put round the U.S. President's "regional initiative," put forward on the eve of the Geneva meet-ing, it has evoked nothing but profound disappointment, even in the camp of the U.S. allies. The essence of this "initiative" sticks out too obviously: to bury, in discussion about "regional conflicts," the solving of the chief problem of our time, the prevention of a nuclear war, while the world expects and demands otherwise.

However, it is not for nothing that they are breaking a lance in Washington: regional problems also require attention. However, political realism and a correct idea of the nature and reasons for these conflicts are needed in approaching them. Is this emerging in the White House's stand? Unfortunately, no.

To begin with, from the abundance of regional conflicts the U.S. President arbitrarily, but by no means randomly, chooses just a few, complaining that it is these which create "immense tension in U.S.-Soviet relations." Africa is recalled in connection with this, or more precisely, Ehtiopia and Angola. Taking place there, as U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz explains, are attempts to "expand the sphere of influence using armed interference and subversive actions." One cannot fail to agree with this: There are such attempts, but who is it that is undertaking them?

So long as there existed in Ethiopia a monarchist tyranny whose people stag-nated in poverty and ignorance, the United States did not consider the situa-tion in that country to be the least abnormal. Furthermore, the United States of America gave the imperial regime powerful military backing. Hardly had the antifeudal revolution taken place and progressive forces come to power, how-ever, than Washington's attitude to the country changed fundamentally.

Evidently there were those across the ocean who did not like land in Ehtiopia being handed from the landowners to the peasants and the fact that for outstanding achievements to the cause of liquidation of illiteracy that African country was awarded a special UNESCO prize. Her peaceful creative labor

was violated by aggression from her eastern neighbor, who intended to seize a vast part of Ethiopian territory. Behind that neighbor's back stood and stands the United States of America.

On arming, filling out and training the Somali Army, Washington has this year alone allocated over \$76 million, and another \$42 million for reconstruction of airfields and ports for the use of its "Rapid Deployment Forces". The Somali port of Berbera has been turned into one of the United States of America's main strongholds in the region of the Horn of Africa. The United States of America is, through its agents in certain Arab countries, encouraging separatist elements in E iopia to perpetrate terror and violence. It even uses the food laid to drought victims for the purpose of "changing the ideological orientation" of the Ethiopian Government.

The United States of America's actions in Angola are just as cynical and unseemly. Not for a moment can Washington and its "historic ally", the racist RSA, leave in peace this African country which won independence after many years of liberation struggle. Today, too, when Washington has suddenly started calling for "settlement" of regional conflicts, a large part of Angolan territory is occupied by South African troops. Today, too, within the country, with the direct military and financial support of the United States of America, death is sown among civilians, houses and roads are destroyed, and hostages are captured and killed by the terrorist UNITA bands.

So who is it who is trying in these countries to "expand their sphere of influence by means of armed interference and subversive actions?" The answer is clear. But in the U.S. Administration's customary manner of turning facts inside out, Washington describes the aggressive piratical sallies of its allies as "justified self-defense," while weeping crocodile tears over the resistance offered to them by the victims of aggression, suggesting that the latter should do no more and no less than...lay down their arms and start negotiations with terrorists and rebels. [punctuation as received]

Such a one-sided, distorted approach to regional conflicts in no way bears witness to any desire on the part of the White House in deeds and not just in words to set out on the way to settlement of these conflicts.

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CSO: 1807/098

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

U.S. POLICY, MILITARY ACTIVITY THREATENS MICRONESIANS

LD021134 Moscow TASS in English 0753 GMT 1 Nov 85

[Text] New York, November 1 TASS--TASS correspondent S. Baybakov reports:

The fourth committee (trusteeship, including non-self-governing territories) of the U.N. General Assembly has condemned the policy of the United States vis-a-vis Micronesia. The discussion of the situation in that trust territory which has been turned into a colonial appendage of the United States and a military proving range, has demonstrated that Washington is least of all concerned about the well-being of the people inhabiting the archipelago. Representatives of those Pacific islands and various public organizations have exposed the neocolonialist militaristic policy pursued by the USA vis-a-vis Micronesia.

In the fifties, Micronesia, in particular Bikini and Eniwetok, served for the Pentagon as a nuclear testing range, said Glenn Alkalei, a spokesman for the committee. The USA has conducted tens of nuclear weapons tests, thus having left a radiation poisoned biosphere for the present and future generations.

Now the U.S. military are preparing the atolls for the testing of their missiles, said Jeton Anjain, a representative of the Marshall Islands. Thus the Pentagon has established a proving range in the area of Kwajalein Atoll to test an ABM system and determine the accuracy of firing of intercontinental missiles.

It goes without saying that the USA was never really interested in the opinion of the Micronesians, in what they think about the militarization of their territory by a foreign power, said Roman Bedor, a representative of Palau. Thus, for example, American Admiral David Burt who bosses Palau, said that if need be he would expel 14,000 indigenous inhabitants, as was the case in Bikini, Eniwetok and Kwajalein Atolls.

The delegates of the fourth committee pointed out that the policy of the USA vis-a-vis the territory which is under its temporary jurisdiction runs counter to the U.N. Charter. This activity constitutes a most serious threat to the peoples not only of Micronesia, but also of the countries of Asia and Oceania and may lead to the emergence of a new dangerous seat of tension.

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CSO: 1812/028

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

U.S. WATER SUPPLY EXPERTS COMPLETE USSR VISIT

PM181109 Moscow TRUD in Russian 17 Oct 85 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Delegation Visit"]

[Text] At the invitation of the All-Union Council of Scientific and Technical Societies a delegation of the U.S. American Water Works Association Research Foundation comprising Dr D. (Manvoring), the foundation's executive director, and F. (Burba) and R. Trussel, members of the foundation's board, visited the Soviet Union 9-15 October.

Talks on water supply problems were held in Moscow between leaders of the All-Union Council of Scientific and Technical Societies and the foundations. N.N. Gritsenko, first deputy chairman of the All-Union Council of Scientific and Technical Societies spoke about the main forms and spheres of the activity of USSR scientific and technical societies in the resolution of tasks of the country's socioeconomic development on the basis of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, and in particular about the work of municipal and consumer services scientific and technical societies in improving the quality and supplies of drinking water to the population. In turn, members of the American delegation spoke about scientific and technical measures in the sphere of water supplies in the United States. Both sides emphasized the usefulness of the further development of contacts between USSR scientific and technical societies and the U.S. research foundation with a view to finding new solutions to specific water supply problems.

A Soviet-American seminar on problems concerning drinking water attended by members of the U.S. delegation and Soviet specialists was held at the scientific research institute for municipal water supplies and water purification of the Municipal Service Academy.

At the final meeting between U.S. specialists and the leadership of the All-Union Council of Scientific and Technical Societies a joint communique was signed which opens up new prospects for cooperation between the All-Union Council of Scientific and Technical Societies and the American Water Works Association Research Foundation and for the strengthening of mutually useful contacts.

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CSO: 1812/49



UNITED STATES AND CANADA

CONGRESSIONAL DEBATE OVER PENTAGON APPROPRIATIONS VIEWED

LD311634 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1025 GMT 31 Oct 85

[Text] Washington, 31 Oct (TASS)--TASS correspondent Igor Ignatyev reports:

The U.S. Congress House of Representatives has by an overwhelming majority of votes, 359 against 67, confirmed the bill on appropriations for specific Pentagon programs in the 1986 financial year, beginning on October 1. The congressmen have allocated \$292 billion for these purposes.

These fresh, huge funds will go primarily toward further building up the American first-strike nuclear arsenal. In the current financial year, specifically, it will have added to it another 12 "MX" intercontinental ballistic missiles. Discussion of the issue of the allocation of appropriations for these purposes took place in an atmosphere of pressure from the representatives of the administration and legislature, defending the interests of the military-industrial corporations.

During the debates Congressman B. Frank proposed an amendment on the withdrawal of \$1.7 billion for the purchase of MX missiles. "There is no evidence to testify to the need to purchase another 12 MX missiles, he noted. It is being proposed to spend much more on this than on the housing construction program." Although it was decided to withdraw the funds for the purchase of these missiles from the draft budget as a result of the first vote, during a second vote the supporters of the militaristic course succeeded in pushing through these appropriations by an insignificant majority of votes: 214 against 210.

An even larger sum \$2.1 billion, has been allocated for the development (sozdaniye) of the "Trident" sea-based intercontinental ballistic missiles. The bill also provides for the allocation of major appropriations for the program of development (razrabotka) and testing of a number of the newest kinds of weapons. It is planned to spend \$34 billion on this. The main one of these is the "star wars" program, for which \$2.5 billion has been allocated. During the discussion of the bill supporters of the Reagan administration tried to increase appropriations for work on the "Strategic Defense Initiative" to the level of \$2.75 billion. However, these efforts were not crowned with success. Congressman D. McCurdy pointed out that \$2.5 billion is anyway an 80 percent in comparison with the previous year. Republican W. Green expressed great concern at the fact that if the Administration carries out work on the program in question, guided by its new interpretation

of the ABM treaty, this may lead to a violation of the agreement which, in his words, is the result of "one of the few successes in the disarmament process." This would be "a tragic mistake," he stressed.

The substantial difference between the draft bill on military appropriations approved the day before, and the present draft bill is the fact that money for starting production of a new generation of chemical weapons, binary weapons, has been removed from the second one. This reflects the concern of legislators, caused by the most dangerous plans of the administration to implement a program of chemical rearmament for America. The step in question may block serial production of binary weapons. However, already now administration supporters on Capitol Hill are making efforts to foil this. It is expected that appropriations for chemical weapons will be restored in the draft bill being worked out by the Senate.

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WESTERN EUROPE

CLOSER FRENCH, FRG MILITARY TIES ENDANGER EUROPEAN SECURITY

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 13, Jul 85 pp 84-87

[Article by Lt. Col. V. Konobeyev: "In the Spirit of Atlantic Solidarity"]

[Text] Over the past few years, a change has taken place in French foreign policy reflecting a drift towards the Atlantic Pact and NATO. Paris, which in 1966 under President C. De Gaulle withdrew from the NATO military organization, is now once again drawing closer to the North Atlantic Bloc and participating in its military maneuvers, the goal of which is defined as an aggressive trend on the part of NATO against the USSR and other socialist countries.

The landmarks in the change in the course being followed by Paris are well known. In the spring of 1983, France affixed its signature to a joint document handed down during a conference involving seven of the largest capitalist states in Williamsburg. Here it was stated that the security of these countries is indivisible and that this problem must be approached from a global standpoint.

A bill calling for a record military program was adopted almost simultaneously in Paris. Instead of the traditional defense strategy in accordance with "all azimuths," one trend was pointed out in it very clearly for the very first time: the potential enemy of France is the Soviet Union. At this same time, an announcement was made in Paris concerning reorganization of the French Armed Forces in keeping with the NATO models and the creation of the "rapid deployment forces." In the event of crisis situations, these forces are to be deployed to "advance lines" -- to neighboring NATO countries and particularly the FRG.

Recently the commander of French forces in the FRG, General F. Ude, reported that a series of maneuvers will be conducted in West Germany in 1985 and 1986. Their purpose -- to expand considerably the potential for the carrying out of joint operations by the armed forces of France, the Bundeswehr and other NATO armies. And once again the familiar formula: it was maintained that this was necessary in order to ensure the "possible joining up of French forces to NATO operations in the event of a crisis." What crisis? And who can threaten France in Europe or anywhere else if not the socialist countries? It is clear that such a "threat" does not and never has existed.

As has been reported, on 19 and 20 June 1985, close to the border between France and Czechoslovakia, the first large-scale French-West German maneuvers

were held under the code name "Alyans." Approximately 10,000 soldiers and 300 tanks participated in these maneuvers.

This is only one example showing how France is drawing closer to the military organization of NATO and, in particular, it reflects the activation of military and political contacts with the FRG. At the present time, it is openly recognized in Paris that France is gradually strengthening its relationships with western European countries in the area of defense. The French prime minister himself has advocated increased military-political collaboration between Bonn and Paris. He has emphasized the fact that "the French-West German dialogue in the area of strategy is becoming historical in nature."

Such pronouncements reflect a dangerous leaning towards the right and towards a pro-NATO and pro-American course for the French political ship. It is known that those who stand at its helm have actively supported the deployment in western Europe of American nuclear missile weapons for a first strike capability. This position has won the approval of Washington.

But not only Washington. The FRG appears to be especially pleased. Its ruling circles have enthusiastically accepted the idea of creating the military-political axis Bonn - Paris. Its features are becoming more and more clear. Under the conditions imposed by revanchist attitudes and an intensification in the wave of militarism along the Rhine, the initiative of official Paris -- to abolish the last restrictions on armament production in the FRG -- can only be viewed with satisfaction by the Bonn leaders.

What is motivating Paris to draw closer to the Atlantic Pact and to the FRG in particular? What forces in France are moving in this direction? This is the result of the class position of the imperialist bourgeoisie and mainly the military-industrial complexes of France and the FRG as they pursue their mercenary interests. Similar to the West German military-industrial complex, the French complex possesses considerable influence and is capable of moving its country into the anti-soviet track developed by the U.S.A. and NATO.

France, which is now the third nuclear power in the capitalist world, has moved into second place (behind the U.S.A.) in the arms trade. The French military-industrial complex is assured of orders for many years into the future and thus money is pouring into the safes of the war monopolies in the form of a river. One has to take into account the fact that the large French bourgeoisie has been maintaining close contacts with the right-wing military circles, which hate socialism. And these circles themselves are an inseparable part of the country's military-industrial complex, which realizes tremendous profits from the production of arms, including nuclear missiles.

It was not too long ago that the European Missile Dynamics Group consortium was created in Paris for the production of tactical missiles and other armaments. In addition to French and British military monopolies, the well known West German Messerschmitt firm also became a member. Moreover, many threads lead out from these organizations to other firms in France and abroad, including in the FRG. Are loopholes not being created in this manner for the reactionary militarist circles on the Rhine which will grant them access to nuclear weapons? This question was asked by reviewers. Particularly in view of the fact that the leader of the right-wing forces in France, J. Chirac advocates



not only the deployment of American missiles in Western Europe but also granting the FRG access to nuclear weapons.

The increasing military-political intimacy between France and the FRG has many facets. It is manifested in the conclusion of new bilateral agreements, in the implementation of joint plans for the development of various types of weapons and combat equipment and in the coordination of political positions and strategic doctrines. This process has been noted in particular in a strengthening of the relationships between the armies of the two countries. The complete support for Bonn by Paris in the deployment of American missiles on the territory of the FRG served to further activate these relationships.

At the present time, judging by reports in the foreign press, the concepts of "atlantic solidarity" are playing a considerable role in the ideological cultivation of French military personnel. The main emphasis is being placed upon publicizing West German collaboration and especially "partnership" with the FRG and "combat collaboration" with the Bundeswehr.

During the course of carrying out measures associated with strengthening collaboration between the two armies, the French command attaches considerable importance to the ideological trend in these measures. One can clearly trace the desire on the part of the military-political leadership to describe the military collaboration with the FRG to today's young generation as clearly a natural historic need, that is dictated by a community of goals, strategic tasks, civilizations, moral values and so forth. It has been proposed that the former wars between the two countries (over the past 100 years, France has fought Germany on three occasions) be buried in oblivion.

Certainly, the true military-political goals of the classic union of French and West German imperialism are concealed behind all of the above: the extraction of a mutual advantage along the path to accelerating western European integration, right up to the creation of a "European defense." However, such plans are not in opposition to the atlantic alliance: the "European defense" is thought of as a "union within a union." In other words, we are speaking here of strengthening the European nucleus within the NATO framework.

Taking into account this army propaganda, the military newspapers and journals strive to convince the French military personnel that the union with West Germany is an objective and urgent call of the times, one which cannot be avoided, and that the future of France as a nation requires "European construction" with the FRG in the vanguard.

The most active work aimed at strengthening "combat collaboration" with the Bundeswehr is being carried out in formations and units of the 2d Army Corps of France, which is deployed in the FRG; it is assuming a more purposeful character and is developing into a definite system. Typical features of this system are the clear ideological trend in the measures, their continuity, mass character and the diverse forms and methods.

And what about the French press? The newspaper *DAILY LIBRE*, in describing joint exercises between a mountain infantry battalion of the Bundeswehr and a battalion of an alpine infantry division of France, emphasized without a hint

of embarrassment that the West German General Greypf, who was participating in the exercises, had been in France once before. But in what capacity and when? It was in the city of Bordeaux during the occupation of France by fascist Germany. And four decades later he again appears here as a friend. In commenting upon the "uneasy meeting" of two former front line soldiers during the exercises -- lieutenant colonels Hagendorn (FRG) and Maslero (France) -- the newspaper noted: "In 1940 they fought against one another in Upper Savoy and today they are the best friends in the world. At the present time, with the old quarrels having been forgotten long ago, joint military exercises serve as the best symbol for this friendship."

The newspaper of the French communists HUMANITE wrote in this regard: "It is truly startling to see how, in our times, officers of the Bundeswehr trample across alpine meadows in one of the glorious regions of French resistance. It is possible that this same Lieutenant Colonel Hagendorn, while wearing Hitler's uniform, was located during the war years not far from the town of Feyson-Syurizer, which was obliterated from the face of the earth by the fascists.

Yet today, in this same area, subunits of the French army and the Bundeswehr, which inherited the traditions of Hitler's Wehrmacht are carrying out joint exercises. A West German general reviews a formation of French soldiers and marches along the streets in the French city of Annesi at the head of a battalion of the Bundeswehr. This is surely a blasphemy and an outrage to the memory of French patriots!

Although the French state and military figures are reminded at times of the special positions of the country in NATO, they stipulate the conditions for its participation in a war on the side of the Bloc and so forth. Recently the army propaganda apparatus has been utilizing less and less the theme "Greatness of France" and especially in units of the 2d Army Corps. Generals and officers who favor the alliance with the FRG are being assigned to leading posts in this formation and also throughout the army as a whole.

The West German military circles are viewing with satisfaction this strengthening of "combat collaboration." The FRG representative attached to the commander-in-chief of French forces in Germany, General I. Gerber, stated: "The French Armed Forces and the Bundeswehr are united by uniformity of views with regard to the carrying out of military service and the fulfillment of military obligations. A binding element here is the fact that both contingents are prepared for war against one and the same enemy." Such statements are being publicized extensively by all organs of the military press, as they place emphasis upon the thought of a community of goals in the interest of protecting "western civilization against the threat from the East."

The thought that France has fallen from the ranks of great powers during this last quarter of the 20th Century is often emphasized in French military literature. Moreover, its principal problem is clearly that of maintaining its status as an average power. For example, in the book by regular officer in the French Army Lieutenant Colonel Guy Doli entitled "Strategy: France - Europe (Security of France and the European Alliance)," it is stated that a singularly correct and possible solution for ensuring the security of France is the European political alliance. It is further mentioned that France is not

capable of ensuring its own security and thus it must unite itself with other strategic partners in Europe.

Who is this partner? It is clearly the FRG, the primary economic and military force in Western Europe. Many other French figures are resorting to such reasoning. They encourage ill-intentioned fictions concerning the "threat of Soviet domination" and reasoning concerning the "faulty American nuclear umbrella" over Western Europe, which makes its defense less reliable, and "concern" for the financial status of France, which is unable to maintain national nuclear forces.

"Hence" they maintain in Paris, "reliance must be placed upon French and West German tandem action. If we wish to emerge from the present blind alley, then there is only one solution: a system of European defense is needed and it can be created only as a result of combining the French nuclear forces with German industry. In order to create Europe, it will be necessary to start from the beginning, that is, with French and West German collaboration."

In another book by the above mentioned author, Lieutenant Colonel Doll, entitled "Yevrosima," which has been disseminated extensively in the armed forces, such ideas are further developed. In this book the author develops the thought concerning the creation of a "European army" and military integration, the concept of "national defense" is rejected and an opinion in favor of supplying the FRG with nuclear weapons is openly expressed. All of these proposals are being supported by a number of politicians and generals.

The statements being heard more frequently along the banks of the Seine River favoring the military alliance with the FRG are not accidental in nature. They reflect the overall policy aimed at drawing France back into the military organization of NATO and to the NATO strategic and operational plans, they are being disseminated extensively among command personnel and they occupy an eminent place in the ideological training of military personnel in the French Army.

In the carrying out of any joint combat training measures, the command is devoting special attention to developing "friendship among the French and German soldiers as a chief condition for success in battle." But in battles against whom, may we ask? Neither army conceals the fact that the common enemy in battle will be Soviet soldiers and the soldiers of other armies of Warsaw Pact countries. It is by no means an accident that the enemy during exercises appears wearing the uniform of Soviet military personnel.

In the interest of strengthening combat collaboration between the two armies, the French military journal ARME published a large article in the form of an open letter from Bundeswehr Lieutenant Colonel (H. F. ...). He addresses an appeal to all French officers and non-commissioned officers, especially the commanders of subunits which must serve in the French forces in the FRG and particularly in the 2d Army Corps. In this article, which for all practical purposes appears to be a methodological work on the problems concerned with strengthening "combat collaboration," recommendations are made to the French officers and non-commissioned officers for carrying out joint measures and the principal forms for carrying out the work are set forth. At the same time, the officers and non-commissioned officers are called upon to be "realists"



with regard to those differences which exist in other countries and their armies and to possess a good knowledge of the problems of the west Germans, their frame of mind and the peculiarities of their national character, in the interest of avoiding unpleasant surprises in carrying out the work.

It is important to bear in mind that the present generation of young Frenchmen in the army has been fully prepared for being brought up in the proper political spirit. This has been promoted to a considerable degree by schooling. Measures are being undertaken within the system of elementary and secondary specialized education aimed for the most part at obliterating the historic truth concerning the evil deeds of fascist Germany in France during World War II. The school programs and history books say almost nothing about this period. It is not surprising to learn that a majority of the students know almost nothing about the fascist repressions, the genocide carried out against people of gypsy and Jewish origin, the torturing of French patriots by the Gestapo and the Vichy police and the Nazi concentration camps. Many students today have no knowledge of the historic pages of history dealing with the struggle of the French people against Hitler's Germany.

At the same time, the importance of the victory by the Soviet Union is discussed in a biased manner in the textbooks and no mention is made of the true causes of the war. With such "knowledge" of the history of World War II, the young people beyond any doubt are suitable "material" for subsequent ideological processing in the army.

The military-political leadership of Paris attaches importance to ensuring that the contacts between the armed forces of France and the FRG, especially between the land forces, are regular in nature. In their opinion, this is making it possible to adapt a broader range of young Frenchmen, those being recruited into the army six times annually, to strengthening "combat collaboration."

In the forces of the 2d Army Corps, deployed in the FRG, the command monitors the periodic nature of contacts and measures with Bundeswehr units at all levels and with all categories of military personnel. So-called meetings of the military units are carried out. Officers are assigned the task of explaining to the personnel that the goal of such meetings between units of the French Army and the Bundeswehr is to ensure that the "two armies will fight to protect the European culture." This same "common fate" theme also applies in connection with combating the "common enemy" in the form of the USSR and other Warsaw Pact countries.

A considerable amount of attention is being given in both armies to the appropriate psychological atmosphere for measures being carried out. Some of the more emotional measures include the mutual taking of oaths by soldiers, torch-light processions, formations with weapons and the carrying out of marches or the laying of wreaths not only on the graves of those who fell in battle against the fascist aggressors but also on those of soldiers in Hitler's Wehrmacht.

In the final analysis, all of this beyond any doubt is directed towards burying in oblivion the crimes committed by the Wehrmacht on French soil and to erase them from the memories of French soldiers or at least refrain from introducing



them into the consciousness of youth. Under the new conditions, this will make it easier to strengthen the military-political alliance between the two largest European capitalist countries, an alliance which is a threat to the cause of peace in Europe and which has an anti-Soviet basis.

It should be noted that the efforts of all elements of the apparatus concerned with the ideological handling of the country's population and personnel in the armed forces of France are producing definite results. At the present time, 40 years after the end of World War II, many young French people view the FRG and revanchism entirely differently than their older generation of countrymen.

The formation of a military alliance between France and the FRG, which is included in the strategic plans of Washington for strengthening the "European flank" of NATO, can have far-reaching consequences as far as European security is concerned. Such an alliance, on a militaristic and anti-Soviet basis, is promoting a build-up in tension in Europe and an increase in the danger of war in this region.

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EASTERN EUROPE

DISCUSSION OF POLISH BANKING SYSTEM

Moscow DENG I KREDIT in Russian No 7, Jul 85 pp 66-69

[Article by Professor V. Yavorski: "The Banking System of the Polish People's Republic"]

[Text] 1. The statute on banking law<sup>1</sup> altered the role of banks in the national economy. This occurred in two significant spheres of banking activity, and specifically in the sphere of the cooperation of the banking apparatus in developing and implementing socio-economic plans and state economic policy, and also in the sphere of bank-enterprise relations.

The Polish National Bank was no longer subordinate to the Ministry of Finance. The president of the PNB [Polish National Bank] is appointed by the Seim and answers to it for the activity of the bank. At the same time, not being a member of the government, he takes part in the meetings of the Council of Ministers. This change is the manifestation of significant transformations in the activity of the banks, which are ever more becoming organs which take part in decision-making in the economic process and thereby bear their portion of responsibility for those economic measures which are to be implemented with the aid of credit. The banking apparatus is becoming an important instrument in implementing state economic policy.

The Polish National Bank is charged with the responsibility of formulating the issuance of money. This is defined on pg 12 p 4 of the Statute on Banking Law: the president of the Polish National Bank presents to the Seim, together with the credit plan, the proposals on the amount of issuance of money, along with its economic substantiation.

In accordance with the Statute, the banks must take part in formulating the socio-economic plans and the government economic policy. In connection with this, provision is made for the interaction of banks in the development of projects for annual and long-term socio-economic plans, as well as the state

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<sup>1</sup> Banking Law. Statute dated 26 February 1982. Collection of statutes No 7, p 56.

budget by means of preparing evaluations and conclusions on the project outlines for these plans.

In accordance with the Statute, the banks work out an outline of a free credit plan for all banks, as well as the basics of monetary-credit policy, which are subject to ratification by the Council of Ministers. The importance of this plan required the adoption of a decision in accordance with which the outline for the credit plan ratified by the Council of Ministers is presented by the PNB president to the Seim, which makes a decision on it as on the state budget.

As concerns the development of the plan for payment transactions with foreign countries, as well as the planned balance of monetary income and expenditures of the population, the decision has been adopted that the balance of monetary income and expenditures of the population will be compiled by the Polish National Bank and reported to the Seim, while the outline of the plan for payment transactions with foreign countries will be compiled by the Ministry of Finance in cooperation with the PNB. The president of the PNB must present a report to the Seim on this plan.

The statute also contains a resolution obligating the president of the PNB to present reports to the Council of Ministers and the Seim on the fulfillment of the free credit plan, the plan for payment transactions with foreign countries, as well as the balance of monetary income and expenditures of the population.

In accordance with the directive on economic planning contained in the Statute, the chairman of the Planning Commission must coordinate the projects for the socio-economic plans with the projects for financial plans (state budget, credit plan). This creates conditions for inclusion of the wishes of the Polish National Bank already at the introductory first stage of formulation of the economic plans and will, in our opinion, facilitate the improvement of economic policy.

Considering the information presented above, the primary task of the banks is to determine the limits of issuing credit in order to counteract the disruption of economic equilibrium, and particularly market equilibrium.

The bank apparatus is well aware of the fact that yielding to any kind of pressure and implementing an economically unsubstantiated credit policy places the responsibility directly upon this bank apparatus and its management.

Thus, under the new conditions the Polish National Bank, together with other banks, answers directly for the formulation of the volume of issued credits and the effect of this volume on the economic equilibrium.

2. The thesis on the need for utilizing banks for implementing economic policy cannot help but be expressed in the organization and structure of the banking system.

Some Polish economists express the opinion that under conditions of economic reform the partners of the independent enterprises must be the numerous operational banks. This is a proposal to deny the Polish National Bank the right to give direct bank credit to basic sectors of the national economy.

However, they overlook some very important factors:

first of all, if the central bank, with the aid of instruments of monetary-credit policy, must influence the credit activity of other banks, then the corresponding principles must exist. Among these we may list primarily the possibility of free distribution of bank funds in various types of foreign operations and operations within the country. This must facilitate maximal realization of profit and be the basis for competition between banks. Without a money market and a capital market this is impossible;

secondly, a state in which a socialized economy plays a prevailing role cannot be deprived of the right of accounting, analysis and bank control, which would practically occur if the sections of the PNB were transformed into operational banks. Yet under the conditions of the economic reform, the banking system becomes the basic link in the economic policy of the state in relation to economic units;

thirdly, the founding of operational banks by groups of enterprises under our conditions would in practice lead to their subordination to these institutions. Yet every founder in our economy is also a potential borrower. In this situation, his interest in the bank would be defined not so much by the profitability of the bank, of which he is a co-owner, as by the amount and conditions of credit which this bank will issue him. Under these conditions, it is difficult for the central bank to follow the principles of monetary policy. The banks would become a credit cooperative for implementing certain interests of a given group of enterprises.

Thus, the provision of continuous functioning of the banking system must rest on the central banking apparatus, i.e., on the Polish National Bank, which according to the Statute is the emission bank of the state, as well as the central credit, accounting and currency institution. The fulfillment of the leading function in the banking system by the PNB and the rights of a coordination and control character which it is given are necessary for ensuring for it the possibility of realizing its primary tasks as the emission bank, i.e., strengthening the solvency of the zloty and conducting a rational emission policy.

This, however, does not mean that the Polish National Bank is the only bank. Other banks also operate alongside the Polish National Bank (the Food Management Bank, the Cooperative Banks, the Khandleva Bank in Warsaw S. A., the Polska Kasa Opieki Bank S. A. ). The new banking law also provides for the possibility of founding new banks with the approval of the Council of Ministers. However, accepting the arguments presented above, we must consider it correct that the activity of such banks must be specialized, and not universal. In the future, the basic sectors of the economy will be credited by the Polish National Bank.

The banking system of the PNB consists of the following credit institutions:

POLISH NATIONAL BANK--the emission bank. It gives credit for turnover capital and investment credits for the entire socialized economy with the exception of agriculture, forest management, the agricultural and food industry, as well as



foreign trade. It compiles a credit plan which defines the overall amounts and directions of application of bank credit for the entire banking system. Specialized departments of the PNB, which are called general savings banks, accumulate savings and issue credits for individual housing construction, purchase of industrial goods, etc.

**FOOD MANAGEMENT BANK**—a state-cooperative bank which issues credits to socialized farms, forestry, as well as the agricultural-food industry. It performs the function of an organizational and finance organ in regard to cooperative banks which accumulate the savings of the rural population and issue credit to individual peasants and artisans.

The Food Management Bank is in charge of almost all the organizations taking direct part in food production, i.e., farming, units of agricultural exchange and specialized services for agriculture, as well as the processing industry (agricultural, dairy and fruit and vegetable raising industry). This allows the Bank to influence the production of foodstuffs at all its stages, with particular attention being concentrated on agriculture.

**Khandleva Bank in Warsaw S. A.**—implements foreign operations and is the sectorial bank for foreign trade enterprises. It gives investment credits and credits for turnover capital to foreign trade enterprises, implements foreign trade accounting, and issues and attracts foreign credits.

**The Bank Polska Kassa Opeki S. A.**—specializes in currency services to the population with accounting of domestic export operations. It is the mediator in transver of currency between residents and nonresidents (primarily of Polish descent), servicing foreign disavility and old age pensions, etc.

The statute contains no instructions providing for the isolation of the General Savings Bands from the Polish National Bank, but the question arises of whether the Polish National Bank will at the same time fulfill the new responsible functions of a central bank with direct service to the public.

Considering the high degree of integration of the General Savings Banks with the organizational structure of the PNB and the weak material base (facilities, supply of machines and equipment), not to mention the considerable expenditures for implementation of the reorganization, the isolation of the General Savings Banks would already have led to a reduction in the quality of service to the population.

However, the Statute provides for the isolation of the General Savings Banks from the organizational structure of the PNB as a state bank with its own Central Administration. This must occur within the next few years. The time will be defined by the Council of Ministers.

The Statute on Banking Law introduces a new organ--the Council of Banks, which is created to ensure mutual ties within the entire banking system. The Council is a coordinating and advisory organ of the banks, and its composition includes: the president of the PNB (Council chairman) and his first deputy, the chairmen of the banks authorized to conduct activities within the scope of the entire

country, the representatives of the cooperative banks, and also--for the purpose of ensuring coordination with the organs of state administration within the scope of formulating and realizing a unified economic and financial policy--the representative of the Planning Commission under the Council of Ministers and a representatives from the Ministry of Finance.

The Bank Council reviews all the basic questions associated with monetary-credit policy and organization and functioning of the banking system. In the case of disagreement on basic questions concerning the realization of the monetary-credit policy, the Statute gives the representative of the Ministry of Finance or the representative of the Planning Commission under the Council of Ministers the right to stop the implementation of the Bank Council resolution. The argument in question is then reviewed by the Council of Ministers.

3. The retention of the Polish National Bank as the bank implementing direct bank crediting does not mean that the bank does not have to be adapted to new relations between the economic units and the bank. This new "face" of the bank must be especially reflected in the following spheres:

first of all, the directives for credit policy and the credit plan must clearly define the criteria for issuing credits for investment as well as for turnover capital. The enterprises whose needs and activity meet certain criteria should not have any difficulties in obtaining credit. The differentiated approach shown by the bank toward the enterprises in issuing credit must be limited to those enterprises which do not fulfill the directives contained in the above-mentioned documents;

secondly, according to the new Regulations of the PNB, credit committees have been created within all bank institutions providing crediting. These committees are made up of experts in various fields, as well as representatives of the borrowers. These committees interact with the bank institutions in examining the criteria and principles of issuing credit;

thirdly, the relations between the bank sections and enterprises must be formed based on previously established principles, i.e. rights and responsibilities contained in the bilateral agreement. In negotiations on issuing credit, neither of the sides can alter these or dictate other conditions which differ from those contained in the agreement;

fourth, the bank operational sections and workers bear increased responsibility for the adopted decisions on crediting. This is necessary so that the bank sections act more independently and so that their evaluation is associated with effectiveness of the borrower's activity.

4. In the sphere of crediting, the Statute provides that the general principles of issuing credit be defined by order of the Council of Ministers at the proposal of the Bank Council, while the amount of percentage rates charged for these credits is set by the president of the PNB. The basis for issuing credit is the credit agreement, which stipulates the right of the bank to implement control activity. The Statute states that the banks control the application of the issued credits and in connection with this may require the borrower to submit documents necessary for evaluation of their economic position.

The bank and the enterprise establish their contract relations, which guarantee the corresponding rights and responsibilities for each of the parties. For this purpose, the bank and the enterprise conclude a credit agreement. On the basis of this agreement, the bank must implement the monetary operations of the enterprise and issue credit in accordance with certain conditions. On the other hand, the enterprise must fulfill the conditions contained in the agreement, as well as submit the necessary financial documentation to the bank so that the bank may evaluate its credit risk. The agreement must also contain such rights for the enterprises as, for example, the option of rejecting agreement with one section and the right to conclude an agreement with another. We believe that such a position increases the equality of the contracting parties.

The creation of conditions for using the bank as an objective advisor is extremely important, particularly in those cases when the enterprise is in a difficult financial position. In such cases, the bank must always render aid to the enterprise. However, this does not mean that the bank must automatically reimburse the loss of the enterprise or automatically credit the wage fund.

Enterprises which operate at a loss (deficit enterprises) or those which do not guarantee payment of credit may be issued bank credits only within the framework of a recovery procedure. The bank may require securement from the borrower as provided by civil law (for example, deposit, mortgage, guarantee, signing over ownership, etc.) or by promissory note regulations.

5. The basic problem is the provision of equal access to credit for all enterprises.

The new Bank Law approaches this problem in accordance with generally accepted criteria. Credit may only be obtained by an enterprise which is a good credit risk, i.e., has the possibility of paying back the obtained credit together with the interest within a given time. The solvency of the enterprise is based on the optimal effectiveness of its economic activity.

Depending on the time of paying off credit, the object of interest of the bank must be the different variants of solvency:

the actual solvency, i.e., the ability to pay, making it possible to regulate the required responsibilities (comparison of norm for debts subject to collection and liquidity of the assets);

the current solvency, i.e., such a financial and economic position of the enterprise which guarantees repayment of the credit in the near future (1-2 years);

long-term solvency, i.e., the anticipated development of the enterprise's economy which would create a real possibility for repaying the credit within a longer period (3-6 years).

The fact that an enterprise is solvent still does not mean that it will receive credit in the desired amount. As we have indicated above, credit for turnover capital in the form of a loan, which must be intaded for preserving the liquidity

of accounts in the national economy, must be received by enterprises principally without limitation.

However, the amount of the credits, and primarily investment credits and credits to replenish one's own turnover capital, is defined in the credit plan. In connection with this, the amount of these credits must be distributed by the bank between the economic units in volumes (contingents) defined in the credit plan for individual sectors of the national economy.

Therefore, it is extremely important to introduce the appropriate criterion for redistributing funds so that they will be received by those enterprises which can guarantee the best application. These criteria must be defined ahead of time and brought to the attention of the interested enterprises. We must stress that when the amount of the credits is limited, then for a more correct distribution of funds creating equal possibilities for all enterprises, it must be distributed by the large bank organism, such as the Polish National Bank. This stems from the fact that the bank has at its disposal large funds which are divided by all the individual banks according to the same principles.

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EASTERN EUROPE

CONSERVATION OF RESOURCES AT GDR FACTORY PRAISED

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Oct 85 p 5

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent Ye. Popov from Berlin: "A Plant Returns Resources"]

[Text] In the course of the movement under the motto "The Return of Resources to the State is a Contribution to National Income," the industrial enterprises and construction organizations during the first half of 1985 returned a total of 3.8 billion marks in saved material and financial resources to the state....

From an announcement of the GDR  
State Central Statistical Administration

A remarkable phenomenon in the economic life of the republic: dynamic national economic development goes on with a decline in the expenditure of the most important types of materials, raw product and energy resources by 6.2 percent as an average over the year since the start of the current five-year plan. This means, in particular, that last year alone the consumption of rolled steel declined by more than 600,000 tons, aluminum by 14,500 and cement by 440,000 tons.

the enterprises which usually would be termed metal-intensive. The range of its products includes rolling mills and equipment for concentrating works, cable and cement plants. In a word, heavy machines....

In recent years here one can trace more and more clearly a trend for many of the machines, including those which have been produced for many years now, to noticeably lose weight. During the present year, the combine will fulfill the production program having spent 16,000 tons of metal less than in 1980. This means that from the metal saved by the combine it would be possible to manufacture two additional modern powerful rolling mills.

I asked the combine's Deputy Director for Technical Questions, Doctor Hans Wagner, to comment on these achievements.

"Approximately 70 percent of the entire savings in metal has been achieved by introducing qualitatively new scientific-technical developments and the rest is the result of improving previously developed designs and production methods. The collective possesses highly skilled personnel for solving these problems. The engineering bureaus employ more than 2,000 and the design bureaus have around 1,500 specialists. We have our own scientific research center with 500 scientific co-workers, including around 100 doctors [of science]...."

The greatest economic effect comes, as a rule, from a fundamental change in the design of the machine as well as the elaboration and introduction of new production processes. This was the case, in particular, in designing the unit for finish metal rolling, when several stands were replaced by a single unit. As a result, product quality was improved and metal began to be saved. The replacing of metal parts and assemblies by articles from Cermets and plastics also provides a great deal. A major reserve is also the use of higher quality steels as parts from them are more compact and lighter.

A fundamentally new aspect is in the search for optimum design and production ideas the combine specialists have widely employed methods of so-called cost-functional analysis. It has become an effective and truly universal means in combating the waste of material resources. This method takes into account that in the expenditures for manufacturing an industrial product, in addition to the actually necessary ones, there are also completely superfluous ones. Having broken down the object being studied into functions, the designers, production engineers and economists put each of them under a magnifying glass, studying step by step all the component elements of the article in order to propose the most efficient solutions.

The Hans Beimler Combine has also become familiar with the experience of employing this method. At the head plant in the city of Hennigsdorf near Berlin, the leader of the engineering bureau Helmut Herdegen and the leader of the combine's Main Science and Technology Section D. Ritschel, demonstrated one of the phenomena of careful designing, a locomotive the manufacturing of which required...just 60 percent of the materials of those provided by the previous standards.

The combine in Hennigsdorf also has a large scientific research center which has chalked up more than 700 patents for highly efficient design and production ideas. Just one of the units of a new locomotive designed for the GDR railroads incorporated no less than 18 patents. And each patent is a path to the saving of resources.

An advantage of cost-functional analysis is that it helps disclose unique "ignorance factors" and fundamentally rectify insufficiently well thought out ideas. It does happen often that the creators of equipment stop searching too early and are content if the first version of the design makes the machine workable. As for the methods of cost-functional analysis, it is uncompromising at its very essence: what is essential is just the best idea and nothing else!

Work under the new system is simply impossible without a psychological readjustment in the minds of the people. We talked about this with the director of the Institute for Light Structures and the Economic Use of Materials in Dresden, Doctor of Technical Sciences Udo Koenig. The scientific collective which he heads was set up almost a quarter of a century ago and now for many years has been the leading center in the republic for introducing the method of cost-functional analysis at the enterprises. The scientists are partners with over 1,400 plants and upon orders from them they have solved tens of thousands of specific problems related to the economic use of resources. Over 1,000 experimental studies have been run on determining the properties of various materials.

But the most important result of many years of work has been the instituting of efficient design methods aimed solely at an optimum solution! The institute in Dresden possesses a data bank on the properties of several thousand most important materials. There is also a special program system which with the aid of a computer puts out recommendations on the economic consumption of resources. The institute has a collaboration contract with some 60 major combines in the republic, including the Ernst Thalmann in Magdeburg and the Hans Beimler in Hennigsdorf. The effectiveness of research in the area of the economic use of materials can be seen eloquently from the following statistics: each mark spent on these purposes brings 22 marks of profit in production....

The main area of the major search which is underway in the GDR labor collectives under the motto "The Return of Resources to the State is a Contribution to National Income," is the greatest possible use of the achievements of scientific and technical progress. A clear system for this work has developed. One of the leading specialists from the GDR Ministry of Materials Management, Oswald Schindelartz, in a conversation emphasized the particular importance of economic incentives and a thrifty approach to the matter. The republic enterprises are constantly improving the ratio between the expenditures and results of production.

Naturally the economically important demand of the rational use of material resources should also include clear, comprehensible-for-all advantages for the production pacesetters. In particular, the republic has introduced the following procedure: for saving the most important types of resources, particularly imported ones, a bonus is paid which exceeds the ordinary one by 2.5-fold. The means saved as a result of rational management are turned over to the enterprise bonus fund as well as to the funds which are at the disposal of the general directors and the ministers....

A particular feature of the movement to introduce resource-saving developments is its mass nature. Participating in it are not only specialists and scientists but also workers who are production pacesetters and innovators. For example, at the head plant of the Hans Beimler Combine the number of innovators has reached 4,500 persons which is 54 percent of all the enterprise workers. As a result of the introduction of their proposals around 13 million marks will be saved over the year.

In the labor collectives of the republic there is the popular slogan: "Make Maximum Use of Each Mark and Each Gram of Materials!" The movement of the thrifty is the visible embodiment of this slogan in life. From the grams, hundreds of thousands of tons of saved metal pile up and billions of saved money from the marks....

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## LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

### LATIN AMERICAN MARXISTS ON 'NATIONAL FORMATION'

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 9, Sep 85 pp 5-17

[Article by T.V. Goncharova: "Latin American Marxists on Paths of National Formation"]

[Text] Elaboration of the problems of the formation of Latin American nations remains among the most urgent tasks of the theory and practice of the revolutionary vanguard. This is objectively brought about by the need for combination of the struggle for social progress in Latin America with the anti-imperialist struggle, a combination which opens an effective path of national consolidation corresponding to the leading trends of world development. Emphasizing the inseparability and interdependence of the development of revolutionary processes and national-consolidation processes, V. Codovilla, for example, wrote in this connection: "...Marxists value national aspirations to the full extent and for this reason are at the head of the struggle for economic independence and national sovereignty".<sup>1</sup>

As of the 1920's-1930's Latin American Marxists, inspired by the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the historical experience of national building in the USSR, have been conducting a consistent struggle against the bourgeois and petty bourgeois concepts of the Latin American countries' national development, actively delivering scientific-theoretical refutations of all kinds of refractions of racist, social-Darwinist and so forth views in political and cultural science.

This vast set of problems was studied from the standpoints of historical materialism for the first time by J.C. Mariategui, who made in his works a comprehensive analysis of the socio-historical and cultural-ethnic content of the Indian question in his country's national development and counterposed his answer to both bourgeois-nationalist and Indianist-philanthropic concepts. Rejecting as totally groundless the racial-biological approach to the problem and making the socioeconomic approach the cornerstone, Mariategui invariably emphasized that "the race factor (where it operates--T.C.) is combined with the class factor."<sup>2</sup> This is why in addressing the question of the Indians' liberation movement he firmly insisted that the ethnic factor could not be determining here, that only an orientation toward socialism "can impart modern, constructive content to the Indians' cause" and that their genuine national revival may be the result only of joint revolutionary struggle with the proletariat.<sup>3</sup>

The Cuban Marxists C. Balino and J.A. Mella acted from similar positions. "First, our liberation revolution," C. Balino wrote, "removes racial distinctions, in terms of color of the skin, and this should not be forgotten by the political parties hypocritically appealing to colored Cubans. Second, colored Cubans do not have any particular interests distinct from the interests of white workers suffering from the same poverty and from the same injustice and deception. White workers are just as or even more interested in liberation from this inhuman order."<sup>4</sup> J.A. Mella constantly emphasized that racial antagonisms disappear in joint struggle for socialist ideals and that real equality between peoples and nationalities and national minorities and the entire majority is possible only under the conditions of a society free of exploitation.<sup>5</sup>

The views of Latin American Marxists of the 1920's, Mariategui particularly, on the role of the class struggle in the processes of national formation were of determining significance for formulation of ideological-theoretical platforms in the region's communist parties, which were completing the period of formation. The summary document of the First Conference of Latin American Communists in 1929 emphasized that, granted all the respect for the rights and singularities of the indigenous population of Latin America and also the Negro population, it is impermissible to proceed from the interests only of these ethnic groups and to counterpose their liberation struggle to the class struggle of the working people, and, primarily, the working class. Warnings were expressed at the conference against "black Zionism" and "Indian racism," which are no less dangerous for the cause of the revolution and the consolidation of its forces than "white racism".<sup>6</sup>

Upon determining the prospects of the processes of national formation Latin American communists proceed both from the actual conditions of the objective-historical development of the countries of the region and from the normalities of development under the conditions of the internationalization of production and the deepening of ties between socio-cultural communities globally. For this reason such factors as cultural-ethnic heterogeneity (in both "settler" and "Indian" and "Afro-Creole" countries) fostering trends toward ethnic separatism and also the objective possibility of the development of some of the biggest indigenous peoples, which have preserved their ethnic integrity, have been interpreted in great depth, which has made it possible to reveal the ideological-theoretical insolvency of populist and other kinds of nationalist interpretations of this most complex set of problems.

Creatively applying Lenin's propositions, which are of permanent methodological significance, Latin America's Marxists have emphasized repeatedly: "An un-failing demand of Marxist theory in an investigation of whatever social question is its formulation within a definite historical framework and then, if it is a question of one country (of a national program for a given country, for example), consideration of the specific singularities distinguishing this country from others within the confines of one and the same historical era."<sup>7</sup>

It is this which determines the distinctiveness of the policy course of the communist parties of Bolivia, Peru, Guatemala, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Chile and Venezuela.<sup>8</sup> Adopting a dialectical approach to an evaluation of the cultural-ethnic situation in each specific country, the communists of these



countries note that it is essential even prior to the advent of the socialist revolution to advance demands for an improvement in the position of the Indians. They see this as tremendous potential for the struggle of the masses and their inclusion in the active transformation of reality and the path of national revival where Indians constitute the majority of the population.

Consideration of the trend revealed by V.I. Lenin of the incorporation of an increasingly large number of peoples and nationalities in the liberation struggle has enabled Latin American Marxists to adopt a creative approach to the key problem of national formation in the era of imperialism and seek the unification of different ethnic groups around the working class as the decisive factor of the removal of the heterogeneous trends and counter-trends objectively impeding national unity under the conditions of the consolidation of the nation's progressive forces.

#### From the General to the Particular

Regarding the class struggle as a factor of the acceleration of consolidation processes, Peruvian, Bolivian, Guatemalan, Ecuadorian, Paraguayan and Venezuelan Marxists, as distinct from bourgeois scholars, who make the cultural, linguistic, teluric, psychological or racial phenomena the cornerstone, consider determining the socio-class aspect of the Indian question, which, strictly speaking, constitutes the specific feature of national formation in the majority of Latin American countries. While scrupulously upholding this position the communists at the same time oppose the doctrines of the so-called "proletarianization" of the indigenous population (that is, their loss of their cultural-ethnic singularities in the course of capitalist assimilation) adhered to by the supporters of the "integration concept" and also certain scholars of the left-radical school.<sup>9</sup> The communists of the "Indian" countries consistently advocate further development of the national singularities of the indigenous population and the adoption of administrative-political measures (as far as the territorial autonomy of individual areas) which would contribute to this.

In the unabating acute polemic great significance has been attached to the comprehension and consideration of the foregoing experience of the enlistment of the Indian population in the process of revolutionary transformations. In regarding solution of the national question as an organic part of the revolutionary programs being advanced by the progressive forces and believing that "under the conditions of aggression and threats on the part of imperialism... the ideas of the nation and the ideas of the revolution form an indissoluble unity"<sup>10</sup> Latin American Marxists are the spokesmen for the genuinely national interests of their peoples.

It is significant that the representatives of revolutionary democracy have been turning increasingly often in recent decades to the basic propositions of Marxism-Leninism on the national question. Thus, for example, advancement to the fore of the socioeconomic aspect of the problem of the indigenous population and an endeavor from these standpoints to strengthen the alliance of all ethnic groups of the working population in the struggle for social liberation, without which neither equality of cultures and languages nor respect for the traditions of individual peoples are possible, were important for the ideologists of Guatemala's guerrilla organizations incorporated in the Guatemalan United Revolutionary Front.<sup>11</sup>

Advancing to the fore the task of the social emancipation of the indigenous population, the communists of Peru, Mexico, Guatemala, Ecuador and Paraguay regard its realization as an essential basis for acceleration of the process of the consolidation of all components of their developing nations and simultaneously a prerequisite of the further cultural-ethnic development of individual Indian peoples.<sup>12</sup> This, for example, is how the question is posed by the Marxists of Ecuador, Venezuela and Mexico, considering an essential prerequisite of the process of national consolidation recognition of the political and other rights of various ethnic groups "within the framework of one multi-ethnic and multilingual nation."<sup>13</sup> Pointing to the social causes of the backwardness of the indigenous population and oppression and exploitation turning at times into outright genocide, Mexican Marxists reject the proposition concerning some "distinctive path" of development of the Indian peoples as a utopia designed to compel reconciliation with reality and see as the sole historically correct solution of this problem a radical change in the social structure of society. Thus the documents of the second national congress of the Unified Socialist Party of Mexico call attention primarily to the position of the agricultural workers, colonos and the working people of the countryside in general, the majority of whom are Indians.<sup>14</sup>

In this connection the Latin American communists consistently support preservation of the Indian people's ancient traditions and languages. "It would seem to us," L. Corvalan, in particular, said in a report at a Chilean CP Central Committee plenum in August 1972, "that there can be no further delay in implementing a policy aimed at the encouragement... of the culture of the Mapuche, who should undoubtedly be guaranteed the right of tuition in their native tongue at all levels of the educational system."<sup>15</sup>

Supporting the inalienable right of the indigenous peoples to further development, Bolivia's communists are consistent critics of the official concept of assimilation.<sup>16</sup> "Bolivia is a multinational state, although 'official science' refuses to recognize this reality....," the third congress of Bolivian communists observed, "the dominant position is occupied by the Bolivian nation, which evolved at the end of the last century..., and the two main nationalities--the Aymara and the Quechua--which are culturally subordinate to it, are in second place."<sup>17</sup>

In recent years in Guatemala, where for a long time the national question was posed merely as the question of the oppressed Indian nationalities, Marxists, as also representatives of other detachments of the revolutionary movement, have been advancing the proposition concerning a "single multinational motherland," within the framework of which the guarantee of the cultural-ethnic distinctiveness of individual groups of the population is an important factor of the formation of national unity and an integral part of the revolutionary process. This view of the essence and content of the national question was reflected in a document on national and racial problems drawn up by Guatemala's revolutionary organizations (the Guatemalan Labor Party, the Guerrilla Army of the Poor, the Rebel Armed Forces and the Organization of the People in Arms), which emphasizes that the genuine consolidation of the whole Guatemalan people is possible only on condition that "the Indians and Ladino, having seized power, themselves determine the future character of Guatemala."<sup>18</sup>

At the same time, however, considering the growing aspiration of the Indian-peasant population to local self-government, the majority of Latin American Marxists believes possible and advisable a formulation of the question concerning this form or the other of territorial autonomy in the Indian areas and acknowledges the legitimacy of the slogan concerning self-determination not forgetting, of course, Lenin's proposition that recognition of "the right of all nationalities to self-determination by no means signifies abandonment... of an independent evaluation of the expediency of the state separation of this nation or the other in each individual case."<sup>19</sup>

In practice shows, actual realization of this slogan is not always expedient since it is at times "capable of weakening the national liberation movement and proving profitable to imperialism."<sup>20</sup> And this was indeed the case in certain "Indian" countries, where so-called specialists from the United States operating under the aegis of the Verano Institute of Linguistics deliberately incited separatist, antistate sentiments in individual ethnic groups.<sup>21</sup> For this reason, considering all the constituent elements and interconnections of the ethnic situation in their countries and abiding by Mariategui's behests, Latin American communists see the revolutionary unity of the working people and the exploited as a determining factor of the solution of the national problem in all its aspects.

The problem of small ethnic groups and tribes which have lagged considerably in their development behind the remaining mass of the population is quite acute in Brazil and also in Venezuela. Addressing this most complex issue, A. Lipschutz regards it as a problem of the difficult "dialogue" between different levels of social development and different historical slices of the human consciousness.<sup>22</sup> However, as distinct from the bourgeois ethno-sociologists who see tribalism as a kind of "blind alley," we, while recognizing the urgency of this problem for a number of Latin American countries, transfer it to the plane of "the survival of the tribe within the framework of the nation." The communists of Venezuela also pose the question similarly, considering it the first and essential condition of the introduction of the backward tribes of the rain forest to the life of the whole country, which, in turn, will lend distinctiveness to the spiritual-psychological character of the developing Latin American nations. With regard for the singularities of their country Guyana's Marxists advance the idea of the creation of a "Guyanan nation of different ethnic communities" with a uniform culture enriched by the best traditions of the ethnic groups inhabiting the country.<sup>23</sup> Arguing from Marxist standpoints the groundlessness of the "purely racial" approach to a solution of the problems of national development of the Afro-Creole states, the ideologists and theorists of the Guyana People's Progressive Party point on the one hand to the example of Haiti, where the as a whole uniracial composition of the population and the official ideology of negritude have by no means facilitated a solution of the severest social problems, and, on the other, to the example of Cuba, where the racial problem no longer exists and where the policy of the revolutionary government promoted the "great synthesis" of the races and cultures, which has become the reality which the progressive Cuban thinkers of the 19th century, J. Martí and F. Ortiz, and the Marxists of the 1920's-1930's saw as the future of the Cuban nation. Characterizing it, J. Marinello wrote: "The strong and different characters

of each race, which once brought to our shores capacity and intelligence, merge with the inheritance of the Indian, ruined civilization. ... a tremendous blend of different blood and different shades of white and black is being born which has been taught by bitter experience and which has triumphed thanks to its courage."<sup>24</sup>

### Singularities of the Argentine Marxists' Approach

In the so-called "settler" countries--Argentina, Uruguay--the problems of development also occupy a place of considerable importance in the Marxist's theoretical developments. Everything that has been done in this sphere illustrates the depth of the analysis of problems universal not only for Latin America but also for the majority of developing countries such as the mutual influence and counteraction of the various cultural-ethnic components in the process of consolidation of capitalistically dependent nations; the particularities of socially heterogeneous countries under the conditions of the capitalist mode of production; society and, most important, the organic interconnection between national revival and the anti-imperialist struggle of the working masses.

Polemicizing with various nationalist theories, whose supporters come both from the standpoints of traditionally Catholic Hispanic and the offspring of petty bourgeois anti-Europeanism the leading role of the "Latin American" proletariat in the process of national consolidation, Marxist scholars, primarily H. Agosti, defend the proposition concerning the "new Argentine synthesis"<sup>25</sup> which is taking shape in the course of the organic assimilation of the foremost achievements of social thought and their transfer to national soil. The development of the Argentine nation is seen as a dialectical process of the mutual influence of the Hispanic, Indian and "European" components in the complex and contradictory process of the economic, cultural and spiritual integration of the entire population. Opposing the official Hispanic interpretations of the inception of the Argentine nation, the Marxists appeal to the "Rosas era" as the decisive period of national consolidation. They link the start of this process with the 1810 May revolution, which created the essential prerequisites for the hetero-spiritual integration of society.<sup>26</sup>

The coming into being of the Argentine nation appears to Marxist scholars, however, as a process which is very protracted in time and which is still far from complete and which is being impeded by the country's dependent development and foreign imperialism's penetration of all spheres of national life, but, primarily, by the social system itself, wherein "private ownership and capitalism are constantly dividing people and increasing national oppression."<sup>27</sup> Addressing the historical singularities of their nation's development, which have been reflected to a certain extent in the so-called "two Argentinas" theory, they, while not rejecting the formulation of this problem, point primarily to the internal socioeconomic factors of the evolved phenomenon of the unevenness of national development.

The sources of the "two Argentinas" theory, the basis of which are the fundamentalist counterpoise of city and countryside and the idealization of the patriarchal way of life, go back to the ideology of the provincial bourgeoisie.



who denied the leading role of the rapidly developing industrial seaboard and "Babylonian" Buenos Aires and upheld the priority of Hispanic-Catholic values in the formation of the national character and the spiritual world of the "true Argentine". By the middle of our century this theory, reacting to the costs of capitalist development, acquired a somewhat different resonance: now the "two lands" were counterposed to the mercantilism of modern civilization, while the most acute problems of social reality were interpreted as a consequence of the difficult contradiction between the "two different types of person and two different lifestyles and world outlooks."<sup>28</sup>

Presenting a comprehensive critique of "conservative tellurism" and the bourgeois-nationalist essence of this theory, the Argentine Marxists consider in all respects groundless and harmful for the cause of national unity any territorial counterpoise of the country's internal problems whatever. As a counterweight to the defense of "romantic backwardness" here they put forward the idea of the country's genuine unity and see its solution not in the notorious idealization of the patriarchal character and Creole antiquatedness but, on the contrary, in the socioeconomic development of the backward areas and their cultural revival. At the same time the groundlessness of the attempts to depart from reality and unavailing denunciations of the evil of European civilization is revealed.<sup>29</sup>

Disclosing the essence of the modern era, they link their country's national renewal with the development of the anti-imperialist movement and the working people's struggle for their social liberation.<sup>30</sup> While pointing to the fact that dependence on imperialism conditions to a considerable extent the intrinsic contradictoriness of the process of national consolidation Argentina's communists consider invalid some abstract concept of the "national" and apply in the specific-historical situation Lenin's proposition concerning two nations within the framework of capitalist society, defining as national that which serves the good of the working people and has an anti-imperialist, democratic and transforming thrust.<sup>31</sup>

Latin American Marxists endeavor to define the content of the definitions "people" and "nation" and to ascertain the dialectical interconnection of the these two historical-cultural-ethnic phenomena, which are by no means always identical to one another, by proceeding from the fact that the processes of national formation in the countries of the region are ensuing somewhat differently than in the period of the coming into being of bourgeois nations in Europe and that the role of the bourgeoisie in them is fundamentally different from that performed in the consolidation process by the bourgeoisie of the incipient capitalist society in, for example, France. As a counterweight to the "antinational minority" connected by class interests with imperialism, Agosti, in particular, included in the "Argentine people" concept all the social strata and groups constituting the "opposite conglomerate... which will impart sooner or later a conscious direction to the country's essential changes and, consolidating in the process of struggle, will represent the true Argentine nation." "The people are the leading force of the nation, and within the framework of the dialectical diversity of its various components we may consider at different times national only that which plainly and directly serves genuine popular interests."<sup>32</sup> Francisco Linares operates from these standpoints also.<sup>33</sup>

Marxist scholars also consider just as bankrupt the proposition concerning some "invariable national character" and a national type given once for all. Connecting the coming into being of the genuinely national self-awareness with the development of the class self-awareness of the working people and with their struggle for their liberation, Marxists believe that it is primarily the working class which is the exponent of genuine "national feeling".<sup>34</sup> Linking it with the development of revolutionary ideology, they consistently propound the proposition that truly national self-awareness is formed in class struggle and "finds its true place in the party of the working class precisely because it simultaneously opposes both cosmopolitan subordination to imperialism and the reactionary deceit of bourgeois nationalism."<sup>35</sup>

As distinct from many representatives of even the progressive bourgeois intelligentsia, who evaluate skeptically the prospects of their nations' development, Latin American Marxists are the true defenders of cultural and spiritual values, firmly believing in the creative possibilities of the people's masses and considering as one of their principal tasks the promotion of the growth of their national self-awareness. Thus the Latin American Marxists consistently oppose any nationalist, isolationist concepts objectively impeding the formation of national unity and see as the arterial direction of Latin America's development the unification and not the isolation of the different cultural-ethnic components.

#### From the Particular to the General

The intensification of consolidation processes and the coming into being of Latin Americans' national self-awareness are, as R. Arismendi writes, a dialectical process of the assimilation of all that is positive and humanist in the world inheritance<sup>36</sup> and the refraction and solution of the basic problems of the present day and, particularly, those connected with the scientific-technical revolution. In spite of the conservative statics of nationalist constructions, which are frequently elevated to an absolute by the most outdated and even reactionary elements of Latin American cultures and mass consciousness, Marxist scholars conceive of the development of their nations as a constantly moving process of cultural and spiritual mutual exchange with other peoples of the world and introduction to all that is most progressive and life-asserting "of the era in which mankind lives today."<sup>37</sup> It is thus that they understand the national distinctiveness of the Latin American cultures, which occupy an organic place in contemporary world culture and which influence it and, in turn, are enriched by its best achievements. At the same time Latin American communists consider groundless the dilemma advanced by certain West European philosophers: the human personality in all its manifestations or technological progress, which allegedly leaves no room for a manifestation of national distinctiveness.<sup>38</sup>

Considering the trends toward the consolidation of national and the creation of inter-nation regional formations, Latin American Marxists consider possible in the future the formation of a community on the scale of the entire South American continent. The expediency of this is dictated by the urgent interests of development and defense against the expansion of imperialism (which has become particularly apparent since the Malvinas crisis). They see the new community as a single Latin American nation or as a federation of Latin

American republics: "The phenomena, which are often directly opposite, occurring in Latin America leave no doubt, however, that we are perforce approaching a state of federative republics, from Mexico to Cape Horn," A. Lipschutz writes.<sup>39</sup>

This idea, which was advanced back in the period of the struggle for independence, was once addressed by J.C. Mariategui and J.A. Mella, endeavoring to separate the historical normality reflected therein from political speculations being propagandized by the United States under the flag of pan-Americanism. Thus Mariategui wrote about the fact that the unification of a "fragmented, Balkanized" Hispanic America in the future "is not a utopia and not an abstraction."<sup>40</sup> Noting that unity could be of an entirely different (and even diametrically opposite) nature depending on who organized it and whose interests it serves, J.A. Mella counterposed to the concept of pan-Americanism being inculcated by the United States the idea of an "American International capable of uniting all the continent's anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces" and the idea of a Latin American community "based on social justice" and "realized by the revolutionary forces."<sup>41</sup>

Thus Marxists' theoretical elaboration of national problems and their practical activity in this plane reflect the objective development under the specific conditions of the heterogeneous Latin American communities of the two basic trends of national development in the era of imperialism about which V.I. Lenin wrote. On the one hand the further development of capitalism will entail the inevitable breakdown of cultural-ethnic barriers and the erasure of racial distinctions and "gives us throughout the world examples of underdeveloped national movements, examples of the formation of big nations from a number of small or to the detriment of certain small nations and examples of the assimilation of nations"<sup>42</sup>--and this is manifested in the formation of the big Spanish-speaking mestizo nations. On the other, the coming into being of capitalist relations contributes to the consolidation of all the more or less large ethnic groups involved in these relations<sup>43</sup> (in this case, of a number of indigenous peoples of Latin America), which creates the objective prerequisites for the independent national formation of certain aboriginal peoples.

These propositions have been creatively developed in the theoretical elaborations of present-day Marxist scholars, who believe that all the necessary prerequisites exist for future federative unification: "a common language for the majority of the population, a similar economic and social structure and broad opportunities for economic and cultural exchange."<sup>44</sup> Only such a unification of resources and forces in the name of development and not the disappearance and surmounting of "national narrowness" in the leveling channel of neo-pan-Americanism being propagandized by the agents of imperialism will ensure the preservation and further development of the distinctive Latin American cultures and strengthen their national self-awareness. At the same time Latin American Marxists are opposed to the nationalist doctrines of a "new multiracial, tropical culture," which is allegedly capable of making an appreciable contribution to an easing of the contradictions between the "West" and the "South," and also to the exaltation of "pragmatic nationalism" oriented exclusively toward so-called "national interests" interpreted in dependence on changing international political conditions.

The real need for unity on the scale of the entire continent in the situation of the United States' increasing penetration of all spheres of the life of the Latin American states, the need to defend the very right to "remain Latin Americans,"<sup>45</sup> is imparting increasingly definite content to the idea of the integration of the Latin American countries advanced by Marxists--the creation of a strong, viable community of Latin American peoples linked by, in addition to cultural-ethnic and psychological community, the single purpose of liberation from imperialism and emergence at new frontiers of social development.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN CUBAN AGRICULTURE

МЕСТО ЛАТИНСКОЙ АМЕРИКИ In Russian No 9, Sep 85 pp 41-49

[Article by N.V. Kalashnikov: "The Cooperative Movement in Cuban Agriculture"]

[Text] The victory of the revolution afforded broad opportunities for Cuba's comprehensive socioeconomic development and the conversion of the working people into the true masters of the country's national resources.

The backwardness of the economy inherited from the past and the unsolved state of agrarian problems demanded that maximum attention be paid to the development of agriculture. The first agrarian reform act, which was adopted on 17 May 1959, transferred to the ownership of the small tenant, colono and sharecropper the land which they had cultivated. Simultaneously state farms and the first cooperatives were set up on the basis of the nationalized latifundia. Two years later, on 17 May 1961, the National Small Farmers Association (ANAP), which united the individual peasant farmers, was organized.

In October 1963 the government adopted the second agrarian reform act, in accordance with which the maximum size of private holdings was reduced to 67 hectares. As a result 70 percent of agricultural land passed to national ownership and the necessary base was created for the development of the production forces and the socialist reorganization of the Cuban countryside.

Prerequisites of Cooperation

Up to the mid-1970's the Cuban party and government paid the main attention to the development of the state sector in agriculture. The task posed at the first Communist Party congress of the intensification of agricultural production and its increased provision with equipment also required a reorganization of the nonstate sector by way of unification of the peasant farmsteads in cooperatives or their merger with state farms.<sup>1</sup>

The numerous production cooperatives formed at the start of the 1960's, the so-called "agricultural associations," not receiving the necessary material support, disintegrated; only 43 of them remained by 1975. The cooperatives for cultivating sugar cane which were set up after the first agrarian reform represented associations of agricultural workers, but not peasants, in connection with which certain contradictions arose, primarily of a social nature.

It was they which brought about the need for the conversion of these cooperatives into state farms.<sup>2</sup> By 1975 the country had 162,100 peasant proprietors of small farmsteads.<sup>3</sup> Private land holdings constituted 1,971,500 hectares (19.9 percent of the land), of which the peasants embraced by different types of "plans"<sup>4</sup> accounted for 1,236,900 hectares (12.5 percent), individual peasant farmers 484,800 hectares (4.9 percent) and landowners who had leased their plots to the state 36,800 hectares (0.4 percent), and ownership of workers and employees constituted 213,000 hectares (2.1 percent).<sup>5</sup> The overall structure of land tenure is adduced in table 1.

Table 1. Structure of Land Per Form of Ownership in 1975, %

Types of Land	Forms of Ownership			
	State Sector	Private Sector		
		Total	Farms embraced by 'plans'	Individual farms
Agricultural land, including:	68.1	87.4	86.7	89.7
cultivable land	39.9	42.9	51.6	22.8
natural pasture	21.8	36.1	26.3	58.7
unutilized land	6.4	8.4	8.6	7.7
Nonagricultural land, including:	31.9	12.6	13.3	10.3
forests	21.9	2.7	2.4	3.5
other	10.0	9.9	10.9	7.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total in thousands of hectares	7,908.9	1,971.5	1,236.9	484.8

An analysis of the data of the table shows that in terms of area cultivable land exceeds, in the main, natural pasture; the group of individual farms constitutes the exception. This permits the conclusion that cooperativist trends among the peasants engaged in cropping were more strongly expressed than among those which specialized in animal husbandry. The sectorial distribution of agricultural land in both sectors points to this trend also (see table 2). Many peasant farms cultivated sugar cane, although their relative significance in the overall area of the agricultural land of the private sector was considerably lower in comparison with the state sector, which emphasizes the latter's leading role in this strategically important field.

It follows from table 2 that the share of peasant farms which specialized in the cultivation of tobacco, coffee beans, fruit, root crops and other products of secondary importance for the state farms in the total area of agricultural land of the private sector was on average over twice as high as the state sector. According to the data for 1976, the relative significance of the peasant farms in the production of sugar cane constituted 18 percent, tobacco 51 percent, coffee beans 54 percent, vegetables and root crops 51 percent, fruit 65 percent, citrus 30 percent and cereals 45 percent and in overall numbers of livestock 31 percent.<sup>8</sup> At the same time the fragmented nature of the



Table 2. Distribution of Agricultural Land Depending on Specialization of the Farms in 1976, %<sup>7</sup>

Specialization of the Farms	Forms of Ownership	
	State Sector	Private Farms Embraced by 'Plans'
Cultivation of sugar cane	70.8	41.8
Rice cultivation	7.9	1.0
Tobacco growing	1.0	14.4
Cultivation of coffee beans	5.1	13.6
Citrus growing	3.6	1.9
Fruit growing	0.4	1.3
Vegetable growing	10.2	
Other plant-growing sectors	1.0	26.0
Total	100.0	100.0

small-scale commodity producers prevented them increasing the efficiency of the use of the material-technical resources which the state was in that period able to allocate the peasant sector.

Besides the economic motives, which put the cooperativization of agriculture among the priority tasks, there were also motives of a social nature. Having provided the peasants with land, implements and credit and afforded them all opportunities for fruitful labor, the party set the goal of extending to the small-scale peasant sector the social gains of the revolution and eliminating the gap in the living standard of the working people of the city and of the countryside.

#### Forms of the Cooperative Movement

The cooperative movement unfolded extensively in the country following the First Cuban CP Congress and the Fifth ANAP Congress (1977), which followed shortly afterward. The basis thereof were the associations of small-scale landowners, primarily the peasant associations (AK), which had existed earlier and which had been set up in the first postrevolutionary years for defense of the revolution and struggle against illiteracy.<sup>9</sup>

Creatively developing Lenin's proposition concerning the need to accomplish the transition toward collective farming with the maximum caution and gradualness, without any coercion of the peasantry, the Second Cuban CP Congress emphasized in a resolution on the agrarian question and on relations with the peasantry that in the process of the transformation of production relations in the countryside "...special significance is attached to the more careful observance of the voluntary principle as an indestructible principle of the alliance of the working class and the peasantry...."<sup>10</sup>

However, life demanded the more active enlistment of the peasants in social production. Mutual assistance brigades, brigades of macheteros (the sugar cane cutters) and, finally, Federation of Cuban Women (FMC-ANAP) brigades are being created within the framework of the AK. The soundness of Lenin's conclusion concerning the fact that only the transition from small-scale farms

to cooperative forms of working the land makes it possible to achieve the full liberation and emancipation of women and lends new impetus to the development of the revolution was once again confirmed in the practice of socialist transformation of the countryside.

A definite role in the growth of the cooperative movement was performed by the credit and services cooperatives (CCC), which were formed from the peasant associations. The said cooperatives existed earlier also (there were 545 of them in 1961, mainly in Pinar del Rio and the central provinces), however, the biggest quantitative growth of the CCC pertains to the 1970's (1,159 by the middle and 2,154 by the end of the 1970's). The number of AK here declined in the said period from 3,571 to 318.<sup>11</sup> Currently they unite mainly the peasants who integrated their farms in the state plans of the development of the sector and retained merely small plots of land for the cultivation of products for their own needs or for sale thereof on the market.<sup>12</sup>

Compared with the AK, the CCC represent a higher phase of cooperation. They are voluntary associations of the peasants created (given preservation of private ownership of the land and other means of production) for the purpose of the centralized receipt of credit and material-technical resources and also the joint sale of agricultural products. The cooperative fund, which is formed from cooperative members' deductions of the order of 1-3 percent of the value of the sales, makes it possible to acquire agricultural machinery and implements for joint use. This fund also finances the construction of socio-cultural-everyday facilities. It is essential to note that the CCC have preserved such forms of the organization of labor adopted in the KA as the mutual assistance, macheteros and FMC-ANAP brigades.

The agricultural production cooperatives (CPA), a distinguishing feature of which is the complete socialization of the means of production belonging to the cooperative members, have become a qualitatively new phase of cooperativization of the peasantry. The ANAP charter records that the CPA is "a voluntary union of peasants who have united their farmsteads and resources for collective labor based on socialist principles...."<sup>13</sup> The purpose of the production cooperative is the joint working of the land and the use of all available technical, financial and material resources to achieve the maximum efficiency and growth of production.

The CPA acts as an independent legal entity and exercises production activity on the basis of a plan drawn up in accordance with the directives of the government and confirmed by a general assembly of the cooperative members. Upon completion of the agricultural year the net profit is distributed thus: from 40 to 50 percent is allocated for payment of the peasants, 20-30 percent for the depreciation of the socialized means of production, 10-15 percent for an increase in fixed capital, 10 percent for the social assistance fund, and 5 percent for the fund for culture, sports, recreation and other social needs.<sup>14</sup>

The wage fund accounts for the bulk of the farms' revenue. The peasants are paid proceeding from the socialist principle of "to each according to his labor". At the time of the final settlement per the year's results the member of the cooperative receives compensation for the work he has done and also an

agreed sum as payment for the value of the socialized means of production which belonged to him previously. When their depreciation terms expire, the amounts thus released are used to replenish working and fixed capital. The CPA specifically solve the problem of the provision of the cooperative members with agricultural products: the cooperative members are provided with the necessary vegetables, poultry and other products in a quantity and at prices fixed by the general assembly. Either plan-based products or products cultivated for sale locally are allocated for this purpose.

In connection with the shortage of manpower at the height of the agricultural work the cooperatives are authorized the use of outside manpower. Furthermore, the state renders assistance, sending to the CPA engineers, veterinarians, economists, accountants and other specialists.

The Cuban countryside is being cooperativized not only by way of unification of the individual farmers but also by way of the transition of the simplest forms of joint labor to more sophisticated forms. The qualitative and quantitative improvements in this sphere are illustrated in table 3.

Table 3. Evolution of the Forms of Agricultural Cooperation in 1976-1981<sup>15</sup>

<u>Forms of Cooperation</u>	<u>1976</u>		<u>1981</u>	
	<u>Total Number</u>	<u>Number of Members</u>	<u>Total Number</u>	<u>Number of Members</u>
Mutual assistance brigades	7,313	81,099	3,200	39,490
FMC-ANAP brigades	7,672	108,328	3,786	43,777
Macheteros brigades	408	15,840	324	12,431
CCC	1,735	56,988	2,181	101,706

It can be seen from the adduced data that in the said period the number of mutual assistance and FMC-ANAP brigades, which represent the simplest forms of cooperation, declined by more than 50 percent. This decline was a direct consequence of the superseding of the AK. However, the number of CCC grew considerably more slowly and did not compensate for the sharp decline in the number of mutual assistance and FMC-ANAP brigades. Strictly speaking, such was not the task: the CCC are assigned the role of intermediate link, as it were, between the lowest and highest phases of production cooperation. But the consistent negotiation of all forms is by no means obligatory for the organization of CPA; such cooperatives are being created both by way of the transformation of the CCC and as a result of the direct unification of the individual peasant farmers.

#### Rate of Production Cooperation

Proclamation of the policy of an intensification of production cooperation in the country enjoyed a warm response among the Cuban peasants. The years which had elapsed since the victory of the revolution had graphically shown the small-scale farmers the advantages of collective labor. The strengthening of the country's economic base, the increased political consciousness of the peasantry and the accumulated experience of management made it possible to create an efficient cooperative sector in agriculture.

Table 4. Growth of Agricultural Production Cooperatives, 1979-1984<sup>16</sup>

Indicators	1979	1980	1981	1982	1984
Number of CPA	725	1,031	1,128	1,416	1,414
Summary area (caballeria)	7,772	15,867	18,592	51,455	73,641
Number of cooperative members	16,692	29,535	39,010	62,896	72,297
Land area on average per CPA (caballeria)	10.72	15.33	25.34	36.24	52.0
Number of cooperative members on average per CPA	23	29	35	44	51

By May 1979, 2 years after the start of the intensive cooperativization of the Cuban countryside, the country had 428 CPA uniting 10,800 peasants and owning 5,000 caballeria of land.<sup>17</sup> A cooperative had on average 11.6 caballeria and 25 members. The fact that in only 6 months (by the start of 1980) the number of CPA had increased to 725, the land area to 7,772 caballeria and the number of members to 16,700 testifies how quickly production cooperation developed. At the same time the cooperatives frequently united a small group of peasants with small land holdings. Such collective farms could not tackle their set tasks efficiently. For this reason a process of the merger of existing CPA began together with the organization of new ones (see table 4).

It can be seen from the adduced data that in 5 years the number of CPA doubled and their land area increased by a factor of 9.5, while the number of cooperative members increased by a factor of 4.3. The average size of a CPA increased considerably, and it grew by a factor of 2.2 in terms of the number of members and of 4.8 in terms of area. Currently the process of unification of small-scale cooperatives has been completed, in the main, and the parameters of those being created from scratch correspond to the demands of the times (which does not, incidentally, preclude the possibility of their consolidation in the future).<sup>18</sup>

The development of production cooperation has had its territorial singularities. The dissimilar relative significance of the provinces in the CPA's aggregate land area, in particular, testifies to this. Thus in 1978 the three provinces in which the cooperative movement had assumed the greatest proportions (Pinar del Rio, Villaclara and Ciego de Avila, which was subsequently superseded by Matanzas) accounted for 50.6 percent, another three, which are characterized by the lowest indicators (Havana, Granma and Las Tunas, and as of 1979 in place of the two latter Cienfuegos and Guantanamo), for 8.2 percent of the area. In 1979 this correlation constituted 43.6 and 12 percent respectively, in 1980 some 35.7 and 10.6 percent and in 1981 some 34.2 and 11.5 percent.<sup>19</sup> As we can see, there is a big gap in the scale of cooperation between provinces, but it is gradually being reduced.

The leading position of the provinces of Pinar del Rio, Villaclara and Ciego de Avila (and subsequently Matanzas) was conditioned primarily by the fact that the peasants have primordially here owned quite large areas of land and also by the specialization of the peasant farms in the cultivation of sugar cane and tobacco, that is, export crops. In addition, it was in these provinces that great experience of the work of the CCC, which prepared the soil for production cooperation, was accumulated.



The consolidation of the cooperatives, which began in 1980, has been reflected positively in the results of their activity, which has contributed to the further development of the cooperative movement. By mid-1983 the CPA occupied 50.3 percent of the area of peasant land, by the start of 1985 some 60 percent. In individual province, the proportion of cooperativized land by the start of 1985 was appreciably in excess of the average national level: 85 percent in Matanzas, 67 percent in Ciego de Avila, 63 percent in Camaguey and 61 percent in Villaclara.<sup>20</sup> At the same time in a number of provinces, particularly in mountain areas, the process of cooperation has developed slowly, as before, not affecting the bulk of peasant holdings.<sup>21</sup> In order to stimulate it the state adopted a decision on the uncompensated transfer of land to the cooperatives which were being set up. By mid-1983 some 6,485 caballeria had been transferred to them altogether.<sup>22</sup>

### Results of Cooperation

The leading role in the cooperative movement belongs to the CPA specializing in the cultivation of sugar cane. By the start of 1984 their number had risen to 441--30 percent of the total number. In second place are the CPA cultivating coffee beans--290 (19.7 percent)--then the tobacco-growing CPA--230 (15.6 percent)--the vegetable-growing CPA--226 (15.3 percent)--and the animal husbandry CPA--194 (13.2 percent).<sup>23</sup> As we can see, the majority of the production cooperatives has been organized in the sectors of agriculture whose product is of importance both for the needs of domestic consumption and for export.

The priority given the cooperatives producing sugar cane--the leading export crop--is perfectly understandable, although they accounted for only 16.8 percent of state credit to the cooperative sector. We would note for comparison, for example, that the tobacco-growing cooperatives received 21.9 percent.<sup>24</sup>

In 1980 the Cuban Ministry of the Sugar Industry (MINAS) and ANAP adopted the joint "MINAS-ANAP Steering Plan" aimed at the utmost support for the cooperative movement in the cane-sugar complex and increased production efficiency thanks to the rational use of human and material resources. As of 1981 the specialized CPA have accounted for approximately 30 percent of total state credit for the cooperative sector. In 1980-1983 alone MINAS sold them various technology and equipment for 40 million pesos. As a result an increasingly large number of CPA is coping with the harvesting with their own forces. The sugar cane yield has increased appreciably: 102 cooperatives reached the boundary charted for 1985 of 85 tons per hectare.<sup>25</sup> Yet another principal task confronting the cooperative workers is being tackled successfully--an increase in the proportion of areas assigned to the main crop. By 1983 this indicator constituted 52 percent on average for the cane-sugar CPA, including 75 percent in Sancti Spiritus, 72 percent in Ciego de Avila, 65 percent in Matanzas and 62 percent each in Pinar del Rio and Camaguey.<sup>26</sup>

The first national conference of representatives of sectorial CPA, which examined questions of selection, mechanization, the rational use of fertilizer, the creation of seed "banks" and so forth, was held in the country in November 1982. The second stage of the "MINAS-ANAP Steering Plan" began in 1983. It

was decided to form 15 model CPA representing each province for the more extensive enlistment of the peasants in cooperatives and for ensuring the optimum living and production conditions. These cooperatives have now become kinds of centers of dissemination of progressive experience on a provincial scale.

A great deal of work has been performed on setting up CPA specializing in coffee-bean cultivation. Besides the general problems of cooperative building, it was necessary here to tackle specific ones also: as is known, coffee beans are grown predominantly in the mountain areas in the east of the country, where the terrain makes the unification of the peasant farms objectively difficult. For this reason it is here that the transfer to the cooperatives of state land has enjoyed the greatest prevalence. Considering the difficult living conditions of the peasants in the mountains, the state gave the new associations additional support. They are granted, for example, certain privileges in the purchase of livestock, food products and so forth.

The summation of the results of the work of 944 CPA for 1984 showed that approximately 80 percent of them are profitable and that average production costs per 1 peso of products constitute 0.77 pesos. At the same time the trend toward an increase in costs calls attention to itself. We would note for comparison that in 1981 they constituted 0.64 pesos on average and 0.70 pesos in 1983. Of the 203 unprofitable cooperatives with high production costs in 1984 (1.14 pesos per 1 peso of products), 76 CPA specialized in the cultivation of tobacco, 86 coffee beans and 23 sugar cane. The unhappy situation in the tobacco-growing CPA (Pinar del Rio) is explained both by difficult climatic conditions and tobacco blight and also shortcomings and mistakes in the planning and management of the cooperatives, which are partly characteristic of other zones and sectors also.

Having opportunely revealed the negative phenomena in cooperative building, the party and the ANAP leadership are directing the cooperative workers' efforts toward an improvement in qualitative work indicators. It was not fortuitous that in 1984 the increase in the area of cooperativized land constituted only 4,700 caballeria. Course was set toward strengthening the economic and financial position of the existing CPA and an improvement in the forms and methods of production management.<sup>27</sup>

The transformation of the Cuban countryside has entailed a change in the entire tenor of life of the peasantry. Some 7,200 brick homes were built for families of CPA members in 1981-1984 alone. The total amount of credit extended to the CPA by the Cuban National Bank in 1981-1984 constituted 654 million pesos.<sup>28</sup> Whereas power had been supplied to 148 cooperatives in 1981, it had been supplied to over 500 by the start of 1985. Cooperation has afforded an opportunity to raise the peasants' cultural level and organize their general educational and specialized training. Medical services have improved also.

In January 1983 the government adopted decree-act 65, which extends to CPA members the right to retirement pensions and, in the event of loss of the breadwinner, free prescriptions and maternity leave. Decree-act 66 on taxation of the peasant sector, which differentiated the amounts of tax on

cooperative members (computed in accordance with the amount of net income) and individual peasant farmers (in accordance with the amount of gross income), was adopted in July of the same year.

A rise in the peasants' living standard became possible largely thanks to the development of the infrastructure, primarily road building in rural localities. Previously forgotten, remote corners, particularly in the mountain areas, are increasingly acquiring direct communications with the densely populated centers and are being enlisted more actively in the process of the country's socioeconomic development.

An analysis of the cooperative movement in Cuban agriculture enables us to distinguish two stages therein. At the first stage (following implementation of the agrarian reform) cooperation was of a spontaneous nature: the main attention of the party and the government was concentrated on the development of the state sector.

The second stage began in the mid-1970's, following the adoption of the corresponding decisions by the First Cuban CP Congress and the Fifth ANAP Congress. The plan-oriented reorganization of the countryside began on the basis of the experience of the preceding years.

The shifting of the accent to qualitative work indicators at the start of the 1980's testifies that the cooperative movement had reached maturity. As the second Communist Party congress observed, "the successes scored by the cooperatives in the economic, social and political spheres are opening shining prospects for the transition to the highest forms of agricultural production."<sup>29</sup>

The Cuban experience of the parallel existence of different phases of cooperation, which contributes to the development in the individual peasant farmers of a spirit of collectivism and facilitates their voluntary transition in the future to the higher form of the organization of joint labor--the agricultural production cooperatives--is of definite interest.

There are still difficulties and shortcomings in the way of cooperation, which will undoubtedly be removed in the development process. An active search for new ways and forms of the cooperative movement is called on, in particular, to play an important part. On the initiative of the ANAP an experiment was begun in 1982 on the creation of municipal unions of cooperatives aimed at an improvement in the systems of management, material-technical supply, planning and the sale of products. Positive results have been obtained in the 3 years: it has been possible to reduce the management apparatus by 500 persons, and all the cooperative unions are operating profitably. This indicates the existence of unutilized potential in the business of increasing the efficiency of production cooperation.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "First Cuban CP Congress," Moscow, 1976, pp 167-169.
2. For more detail see "The Great October and the Cuban Revolution," Moscow, 1977, pp 118-129.

3. "First Cuban CP Congress," p 165.
4. The reference is to "specialized" and "controlled plans" by means of which the peasant farms are enlisted in the production of a certain product together with the state farms on the basis of a single state plan. The production of the necessary types of product was not only ensured in this way but the basis was created for the transition to more accomplished forms of management.
5. Estimated from "Anuario estadístico de Cuba 1976," Havana, 1976, p 60.
6. Ibidem.
7. Ibid., p 61.
8. We would note for comparison that in 1984 they accounted for the following: 18 percent of the production of sugar cane, 74 percent of tobacco, 54 percent of coffee beans, 66 percent of vegetables and root crops, 53 percent of fruit and 16 percent of citrus and 25 percent of the total numbers of livestock. GRANMA, Havana, 18 March 1985.
9. See "ANAP. V Congreso. Proyectos," Havana, 1977, p 14.
10. "Second Cuban CP Congress," Moscow, 1982, p 347.
11. "ANAP: 20 años de trabajo," Havana, 1982, pp 26, 129-130.
12. By mid-1979 the AK united 6 percent of ANAP members (11,435 peasants), while by August 1980 their proportion had declined to 3.4 percent. "La ANAP: 20 años de trabajo," p 130.
13. "ANAP. VI Congreso. Proyecto de modificaciones," p 43.
14. Ibid., p 62.
15. "ANAP. VI Congreso. Resumen estadístico. Sector no estatal," Havana, May 1982, p 39.
16. "ANAP. VI Congreso. Resumen estadístico...", p 13; GRANMA, 3 February 1983; 18 March 1985.
17. 1 caballería = 13.42 hectares.
18. According to our calculations, in 1984 there were 1.02 caballerías per cooperative member.
19. Estimated from "ANAP. VI Congreso. Resumen estadístico...", p 13.
20. GRANMA, 18 March 1985.



21. Incidentally, the situation sometimes changes quite rapidly. In 1983, for example, in Havana Province alone production cooperation embraced an area of 1,300 caballeria--200 caballeria more than in the entire period of 1977-1981. Thus by the end of the year the CPA here accounted for 50 percent of the peasant land. By the start of 1985 the relative significance of cooperativized land in Cienfuegos Province had risen to 69 percent. GRANMA, 18 March 1985.
22. GRANMA, 4 October 1982; 21 July 1983.
23. GRANMA, 14 March 1984.
24. Estimated from "ANAP. VI Congreso. Resumen estadístico...", p 34.
25. GRANMA, 23 November 1982; 14 March 1984.
26. Ibid., 3 February 1983.
27. Ibid., 18 March 1985.
28. Ibidem.
29. "Second Cuban CP Congress," p 81.

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## LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

### ARGENTINA'S TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 9, Sep 85 pp 50-55

[Article by O.V. Zvonarev: "Argentina: Struggle for Trade Union Unity and Renewed Democracy"]

[Text] The democratization process which has begun in Argentina's trade unions reflects the aspiration of the broad working masses to overcome the negative consequences of the strict anti-union policy of the military regime.

The trade unions have traditionally been an important domestic political "power factor" in the country. For this reason following the 1976 coup d'etat the military immediately mounted a concentrated offensive against the organized workers movement.<sup>1</sup> The junta dispatched its agents to the General Confederation of Labor (GCL) and the 15 biggest sectorial trade union associations. Among the 3,000 persons arrested for ties to the ousted Peronist government were trade union leaders also. And, furthermore, whereas the arrested representatives of the right wing of Peronism in the unions were accused of involvement in the abuses of the Maria Estela Martinez de Peron administration, the representatives of the left Peronist wing were accused of "subversive activity". According to certain data, several thousand union activists were subjected to repression in the period 1976-1980. Often people "disappeared" in accordance with a list which had been compiled in advance by the management of private firms or state enterprises.<sup>2</sup>

The ruling circles also enacted legislative measures for the purpose of "atomizing" the workers movement. In particular, changes were made to the law governing labor contracts. The reform meant the cancellation of 27 articles of this law. The articles concerning the right to strike and which had qualified sanctions against the participants in strikes illegal and discriminatory were rescinded, for example, the provisions regulating the length of the work day for women over 18 years of age were annulled and a 48-hour work week was introduced. Some 98 articles were amended.

Law 21.476 signed by President Videla endowed the executive authority with the right "to revise collective agreements" both in the public and in the private sectors.<sup>3</sup> In the fall of 1976 Videla signed Law 21.400, which stipulated long terms of imprisonment for participation in strikes. The preamble to the law emphasized that its elaboration had been brought about by "the

urgent need to have adequate measures of influence in the event of a situation arising which threatens state security...."<sup>4</sup>

Developing the offensive against the proletariat's rights and social gains, the ruling circles embarked on the elaboration of new trade union legislation. However, there was no unity of views among the military leadership concerning the future structure and role of the unions. Two of the three "The Trade Union Organizations" bills put forward in 1977 proposed elimination of the single national trade union center or limitation of the influence of the GCL (one bill, furthermore, also proposed the complete militarization of the unions). According to the third bill, the existing union structure was preserved given removal therefrom of the Peronist union bureaucracy.<sup>5</sup>

Only in May 1979 was the final bill, which was evidently of a compromise nature, submitted for the junta's confirmation. After it was signed by Videla on 15 November 1979, it acquired the status of Law 22.105 "The Trade Union Organizations".

The new law prohibited the unions from engaging in political activity and sanctioned the liquidation of the single national trade union center--the GCL. The law authorized the creation at the enterprises of several parallel local-level organizations, without, however, their unification in a confederation. Furthermore, only the biggest union was officially registered. In accordance with the new election rules, one delegate to a first-level union was elected from no less than 100 persons, that is, the working people of small enterprises were deprived of an opportunity to nominate their representatives for the unions.

Extensive use was made of the "trustworthiness" criterion at the time of elections to the union leadership; obligatory conditions for nomination as delegates were lack of mention on police files and a certain uninterrupted length of service at one place.

Law 22.105 changed the system of the financing of union activity. The monetary funds of the union federations and the GCL were confiscated to the state.<sup>6</sup>

Decree 640.80 limited union rights even more. Thus, for example, whereas Law 22.105 had prohibited untrustworthy persons from the regime's viewpoint from being elected to the union leadership, this decree deprived such persons of the right to join trade unions altogether. The extraordinary amorphousness of the article on the right to strike afforded the government an opportunity to ban any of them on "legal grounds".<sup>7</sup>

In imposing the new union legislation the military junta pursued a dual purpose: on the one hand to weaken the militant trade union movement and to exclude it from political life and, on the other, to create a stable and soundly functioning system of the regulation of labor relations in the public and private sectors of the economy in the interests of the haute imperialist bourgeoisie and foreign capital.

"A 'professionalist' concept of the trade unions is being imposed on the workers movement," the newspaper published by the Argentine CP wrote in this

connection, "whose functions are being reduced merely to defense of narrow professional interests, and the participation of the working class in the solution of national problems is thereby precluded."<sup>8</sup>

The junta's policy in respect of the organized workers movement was reflected in the forms and methods of the struggle of the proletariat. In the first years of military rule passive forms of protest--individual or collective petitions and so forth--predominated. The strikes which were sometimes conducted were of the nature of individual unconnected protests. Demands were put forward here which were basically of an economic nature--wage increases, improvements in work conditions. However, in the period of the offensive of reaction these slogans assumed a political implication. They indirectly expressed discontent with the neoliberal economic course and the policy of the government as a whole.

An event occurred on 27 April 1979 which showed that the regime had not succeeded in smashing the organized workers movement. One union association--Commission 25--attempted to hold a national protest day, calling for a general strike. Although it did not assume national proportions, the initiative was supported by certain unions which were not a part of Commission 25. The strikers put forward demands for the restoration of the purchasing power of wages, observance of the law on collective bargaining, the normalization of trade union activity, ascertainment of the fate of the "disappeareds" and so forth.<sup>9</sup> The strike demonstrated on the one hand that the workers movement had not lost its fighting traditions and, on the other, the need for and urgency of the achievement of trade union unity in the interests of the struggle for democratization and the restoration of constitutional norms.

The first success en route to trade union unity was scored in the fall of 1979, when two major trade union groupings--Commission 25 and the National Labor Commission--announced their merger and formed the Joint Leadership of Argentine Workers (KUTA). A program was adopted at the constituent assembly of the new trade union center which contained demands for the defense of national industry and enterprises of the public sector, the observance of constitutional norms, the release of political prisoners and ascertainment of the fate of the "disappeareds" and the normalization of trade union activity.<sup>10</sup>

The presence of political demands in the KUTA program marked the changes which had been discerned in the alignment of sociopolitical forces and the working class' growing readiness to begin an emphatic struggle for the restoration of constitutional norms. The growth of the strike struggle and labor conflicts testified to this. By 1980 there had also been an expansion of the rights movement and a consolidation of the movement of small and middle entrepreneurs of city and countryside. The National Society of Businessmen,<sup>11</sup> which joined assertively in political life, was set up without prior permission in October 1980 in Rosario (Santa Fe Province). It held a day of national protest on 26 February 1981. Protests by other forces were stimulated also.

Recognizing the need for an expansion of the regime's social base, in March 1980 the military was forced to begin a dialogue with representatives of civilian circles on the country's institutionalization. However, it was mainly



small, unrepresentative rightwing-centrist parties which took part in the dialogue. The junta was unable to enter into contact with the truly influential forces. Essentially this dialogue became a junta monologue.<sup>12</sup>

Under these conditions the recreation at the end of 1980 of the GCL (although it was not a single trade union center in this period) was a logical and important step en route to the cohesion of the ranks of the workers movement. In the summer of 1981 the GCL conducted a national protest day for the purpose of "persuading the authorities of the need to adopt special measures to improve the living conditions of the broad people's masses."<sup>13</sup> This initiative did not find a response in the leadership of a number of unions but, on the other hand, was for the first time supported by the bourgeois-democratic opposition. Following a GCL appeal a mass workers' demonstration was held in November 1981 in Buenos Aires in which the Mothers of Plaza Mayo movement participated.

In a December 1981 declaration entitled "For a Peaceful Christmas" the GCL moved to the forefront demands of a political nature: the creation of a government endowed with special powers with the participation of all strata of Argentine society; normalization of the activity of the political parties and trade unions; and the release of political prisoners. The government's economic course was sharply criticized.<sup>14</sup>

The growth of protests by the working class, its advancement of political demands and the interaction which had been discerned with different sectors of the democratic opposition testified that the organized workers movement had entered a new stage of its development. It is significant that new detachments of the working class joined assertively in this struggle in this period. Thus, for example, approximately 3,000 workers of the fruit plantations of Rio Negro and Neuquen provinces declared a strike at the start of 1982 and demonstrated, demanding a wage increase, normalization of trade union activity and the observance of civil rights. The workers' protests were supported by the main political parties, the church and the unions of other sectors of industry of these provinces.<sup>15</sup>

Testimony to the strength and scale of the workers movement was the fact that the "multiparty Alliance" ("Multipartidaria"), which had been created in June 1981, began to coordinate its actions with the GCL. One of the biggest joint protests was the demonstration on 30 March 1982 in Buenos Aires, which took place despite the fact that it had been banned by the military authorities. It was significant that the proletarian masses, overstepping the dictatorship's ban, took to the streets chanting: "GCL! GCL! Bread and Jobs! Down With the Dictatorship! A United People Is Invincible! The Dictatorship Will Soon Collapse!"<sup>16</sup>

On 6 December 1982 there was a 24-hour general strike organized by the GCL-Brasil and GCL-Asopardo.<sup>17</sup> This was the most mass working people's protest in the period of military rule. Approximately 9 million persons took part--more than in the preceding 6 years of the regime's existence.<sup>18</sup> The workers demanded a wage increase, the recall of the military agents from the trade unions and restoration of the system of replenishment of the unions' monetary funds. Saul

Ubal dini, general secretary of the GCL-Brasil, demanded in his speech the immediate transfer of power to a democratic government.<sup>19</sup>

Thus the struggle of the organized workers movement for the country's democratization was a most important factor determining the transition to a civilian form of government. The dynamics of this struggle confirmed that "...confinement of the methods of class domination to repression and police surveillance of the mass organizations or the general toughening of the domestic policy course and regulation of the activity of the unions in the name of 'economic stability' were incapable of securing for the ruling classes long-term 'social peace'."<sup>20</sup>

The consolidation process has continued under the constitutional government of Raul Alfonsin. The united GCL was restored at the start of 1984. Its leadership incorporated four provisional general secretaries, including Saul Ubal dini, former general secretary of the GCL-Brasil, and Jorge Triaca, former leader of the GCL-Asopardo. Elections in the primary organizations and the federations were held within the framework of the process of normalization of trade union activity. Elections to the GCL were set for October.

An intensive struggle is under way for influence in the trade unions. The democratic forces and the unitary trend are opposed by local reaction, which is endeavoring to create contradictions between the Peronists and radicals and frustrate the process of normalization of trade union activity. In this connection the communists proposed the urgent adoption of new legislation which would provide for the following: cancellation of Law 22.105, which was enacted by the military dictatorship; realization of the principle of noninterference in trade union affairs on the part of the state, the employers and political parties; realization of the workers' right to monitor the activity of the trade union organizations and also the course of the elections in the trade union organizations via election juntas; and so forth.<sup>21</sup>

Relying on the accumulated work experience and an analysis of the objectively evolved conditions, the Argentine communists formulated six basic principles on which, they believe, a democratic trade union law should be based: the principle of class character (the unions unite wage workers, and their ideology and program goals include both struggle for direct socioeconomic demands and for the working people's liberation from exploitation); the principle of trade union unity (for the achievement of both the immediate and strategic goals of the proletariat a unity of workers within the trade union organization presupposing the absence of clashes on the grounds of interparty contradictions, but not precluding unions' participation in political life is essential); the principle of trade union independence (the workers must themselves solve intra-union problems without the interference of the state, businessmen and political parties); the principle of fighting efficiency (the unions must be reserved the right to defense of the interests of the proletariat); the principle of trade union democracy (the unions must organize their activity on democratic principles and proportional representation in the leading bodies); and the unitary principle (one union per enterprise, one federation in a sector and one GCL in the country).<sup>22</sup>

Argentine communists believe that it is the unitary tactics of all democratic forces at the trade union elections which will bar the way to the stooges of reaction in the workers movement, lead to the removal from power of the corrupt trade union bureaucracy and provide for the unions' activity on a democratic basis. For this purpose they have formed a bloc with the most militant currents in the trade union movement, putting forward common lists, and also supported the lists (including also those which have not included communists) of forces with which program agreements have been reached.<sup>23</sup>

As a whole the results of the elections held in the country's trade unions have demonstrated the working people's masses' firm intention to remove from power the old union bureaucracy and have been marked by successes for the progressive supporters of the unitary line. Thus, for example, in one of the country's biggest unions--the Union of Engineers and Workers of Related Specialties of Automotive Industry and Transport--victory went to the so-called "green list," which incorporated candidates of the Peronistas, communists, members of the Intransigent Party and left radicals. The union bureaucracy was also defeated at the elections in the influential Public Sector Workers Union (ATE). Victor de Jenarro, the new general secretary of the ATE, who was the unitary list candidate, emphasized in his statement the resolve of the new ATE leadership to strengthen the democratic gains and mobilize the people's and working masses for struggle against the putschist aspirations of reaction and the intrigues of international monopoly capital.<sup>24</sup>

The unitary lists were also victorious in many other trade unions--in the Press Agency Workers Union, the Argentine Film Industry Union, the Malpo (Mendoza Province) Viticultural Industry Workers and Employees Union, the Argentine Health Workers Union, the Railroad Workers Union, the Metal Workers Union and so forth.<sup>25</sup>

It is a noteworthy fact that the democratic forces which took part in the unitary lists emphasize the urgent need to surmount interparty disagreements and advocate active joint work in the trade unions. A big meeting held on 23 May 1985 in the capital's central square, in the course of which 250,000 persons expressed their support for the democratization process and also condemned the policy of the IMF, was attended by representatives of the leadership of the leading political parties.

Understandably, the results of the elections, which signify that the union bureaucracy is in places beginning to lose control over the unions, is bringing about reaction's counteraction. However, the struggle of the organized workers movement for the country's democratization at the time of the military government and the active role of the proletariat in the process of intensification of the democratic gains under the constitutional government testify that the Argentine working class has withstood the pressure of reaction, having preserved its militant traditions. This is also confirmed by the process of democratization of the trade unions which has unfolded and which expresses the working people's resolve to reorganize the union structure on a truly democratic basis with the participation in this reorganization of all progressive forces interested therein.

# FOOTNOTES

1. It should be noted that by the time of the 24 March coup the workers movement had already incurred considerable losses. It had been weakened and partially disorganized by the antiworker policy of the Justicialist governments and the terrorist activity of the ultraright.
2. M. Cavarozzi, "Argentina at the Crossroads: Pathways and Obstacles to Democratization in the Present Political Conjuncture," Washington, 1982, p 20.
3. LA NACION, Buenos Aires, 14 December 1976.
4. DERECHO LABORAL, Buenos Aires, No 7, 1976, pp 311-313.
5. LA NACION, 8 December 1977. ELEMENTOS, Buenos Aires, 7 December 1977.
6. CLARIN, Special Supplement, Buenos Aires, 16 November 1979.
7. LA NACION, 2 April 1980.
8. COINCIDENCIA, Buenos Aires, 23 May 1979.
9. CUADERNOS DEL TERCER MUNDO, Mexico City, No 30, 1979, p 75.
10. VENCER, Mexico City, No 5, 1980, p 15.
11. EL ECONOMISTA, Buenos Aires, 12-18 December 1980, p 3.
12. R. Iscaro, "Unity of Action--Guarantee of Success," PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA No 12, 1980.
13. PRAVDA, 24 July 1981.
14. LA NACION, 24 December 1981.
15. QUE PASA, Buenos Aires, 24 March 1982.
16. QUE PASA, 7 April 1982.
17. The GCL-Asopardo was formed in May 1982 on the basis of the Intersectorial trade union association. The two GCL came to be distinguished by the name of the street which housed their headquarters.
18. See "The Developing Countries: Growth of the Class Struggle," Moscow, 1983, p 186.
19. FINANCIAL TIMES, London, 7 December 1982; EL PAIS, Madrid, 7 December 1982.
20. "Latin America's Ruling Classes," Moscow, 1978, p 328.



21. "Propuestas de los comunistas para la normalizacion sindical." Comision Nacional Sindical Partido Comunista, Buenos Aires, 1984, pp 1-2.
22. For more detail see R. Iscaro, "Normalizar y democratizar los sindicatos, un objeto inmediato. Opinion de los comunistas," Buenos Aires, 1983, pp 7, 9.
23. QUE PASA, 7 November 1984; R. Iscaro, Op. Cit., p 12.
24. QUE PASA, 14 November 1984.
25. QUE PASA, 31 October, 14 November 1984; 16 January 1985.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

INTERVIEW WITH CHAIRMAN OF 'HANDS OFF NICARAGUA!'

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 9, Sep 85 pp 79-83

[Anatoliy Borovkov, correspondent of LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Mexico and Central America, interview with Fernando Carmona, chairman of the "Hands Off Nicaragua!" (MAFUENIC) Committee]

[Text] [Question] What are the main landmarks in the history of the committee's activity?

[Answer] The "Hands Off Nicaragua!" Committee in the form in which it exists today was created in October 1983. However, a committee with the same name had emerged in Mexico back in 1928.\* It was the first to call at that time for the organization of a movement of solidarity with the unparalleled anti-imperialist struggle begun by "the free people's general" Augusto Sandino, who headed the legendary "small crazy army" (as it was called by the Chilean poetess Gabriela Mistral), which showed itself capable of starting and winning a most severe people's liberation war against the American occupiers.

The creation of the first MAFUENIC Committee, which incorporated prominent figures of the arts--Diego Rivera, Javier Guerrero and David Alfaro Sigueros--and also many members of the Mexican CP, was an expression of the growing non-acceptance in the region of the United States' Latin America policy.

In November 1974, when the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) presented itself to the Nicaraguan people as their genuine vanguard and as the sole force capable of proposing a new historical alternative in place of the domination of imperialism and oligarchy and also organizing the people for struggle against tyranny, the solidarity organization in Mexico was revived, but this time with the Sandinista people's revolution. Later, in 1983, the MAFUENIC--the new "Hands Off Nicaragua!" Committee--was formed within the framework of this movement.

Sandinism has always enjoyed the broadest response in our country. As of the 1960's, practically from the first days of the struggle, many FSLN leaders, Carlos Fonseca among them, many of those who later, like Ricardo Morales Aviles,

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\* For more detail see LATINSKAYA AMERIKA No 7, 1985, p 98 (Ed. note)

fell in battle and also a large group of the present leaders of the front and members of the revolutionary government came to Mexico in an endeavor to find here understanding and support. I may say, for example, that when, in February 1965, I addressed for the first time a meeting devoted to the anniversary of the murder of Sandino, I stood next to the Nicaraguans Ramiro Bermudes Alegria and Morales Aviles.

Thus even in the period preceding the stimulation of the Sandinistas' struggle the conditions in our country were conducive to the creation of a Mexican committee of solidarity with the Nicaraguan people. The leadership of the committee in the 1970's was closely connected with such outstanding representatives of the Mexican intelligentsia as Juan Sabines, the writer Jaime Labastida, the poetess Thelma Nava and the trade union figure Andres Garcia Salgado. The leadership of the committee included the poets Carlos Pelliser (chairman) and Efrain Huerta (deputy chairman).

Roughly prior to 1977 work was conducted mainly within the confines of the capital. We succeeded here in enlisting in participation in the solidarity movement the most conscious anti-imperialist forces of Mexican society: party, trade union and cultural organizations and people of progressive beliefs who were well known in the country. Extensive use was made of the periodical press and other information media. We began to issue the bulletin GACETA SANDINISTA. It was more like a journal even. This modest, but well-designed publication played a big part and acquired a quite numerous readership. Our example undoubtedly served as an impetus to the appearance of publications with the same title in San Francisco, Caracas and Havana.

As of 1978 branches of the Mexican Committee of Solidarity With the Nicaraguan People have been created in other parts of the country--Guadalajara, Monterrey, Morelia, Saltillo, Monclova, Jalapa, Merida and Toluca. The Coordinating Committee of Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People, on which political parties, trade unions and other public organizations were represented, emerged in 1978. The committee was rendered inestimable assistance by Natalio Vasquez Pallares, an outstanding follower of Cardenas, who at that time headed the Mexican Peace Movement.

It should be noted that the government of Jose Lopez Portillo was the first government in the region to break off relations with the Somoza dictatorship. This occurred several months before the tyrant was ousted.

[Question] What brought about the recreation of the MAFUENIC in 1983?

[Answer] Following the Sandinista victory of 19 July 1979 and after the avalanche of popular anger had razed to the ground the machinery of state of the dictatorship, the Sandinista movement naturally became the leading force in the Government of National Reconstruction and the new Nicaraguan state. The FSLN fighters who had been in Mexico returned to the liberated homeland. Many Mexicans, activists of the solidarity with Nicaragua movement, left together with them in order to make their contribution to the cause of Nicaragua's recovery. Relations based on mutual respect and cooperation occupied the dominant position in the official contacts and ties of the two countries. This

led to the solidarity committee ceasing to exist. However, Nicaragua was becoming the principal target of the aggressive aspirations of the Reagan administration. Following his assumption of office in 1981, he took specific steps to realize the propositions of the notorious Santa Fe Document and unleashed an undeclared war against Nicaragua. This forced us to step up our activity anew.

[Question] It is well known what an important role the Mexican Government is performing in the cause of solidarity with Nicaragua. But what is MAFUENIC's role in this connection?

[Answer] I believe that the Mexican Government and MAFUENIC have different tasks and spheres and levels of activity which complement one another. With almost all countries in which anti-imperialist and socialist revolutions have been victorious and become firmly established and with which the Mexican Government maintains normal relations other, unofficial channels of communication have also been established via various establishments and societies contributing to the strengthening of friendship, the expansion of exchange and a better knowledge of one another. However, Nicaragua, which is continuously subject to the attacks of imperialist forces and which is under constant threat of direct invasion by the U.S. Army, is not a part of this system. For this reason Nicaragua needs the more, let us say, direct, more effective solidarity of the peoples.

Of course, MAFUENIC advocates the further development of good-neighborly interstate relations between the two countries and approves of the activity of the Contadora Group, whose efforts, which have been undertaken outside of the OAS framework, have repeatedly been frustrated by the American Government, and Mexico's economic and technical assistance to the Nicaraguan people. However, we endeavor to solve the questions which are not a part of the system of official relations like propaganda of Nicaragua's successes, explanation of the problems connected with the imperialist aggression and also exposure of the measures of pressure being exerted on Mexico and the governments of the other Contadora Group members. The committee believes that defense of the sovereignty, independence and right of the people of Nicaragua to self-determination means a championing of all these values both for Mexico itself and for all peoples of "our America". We are endeavoring to convey this to the broadest strata of society. This is why trade unions, political parties and youth, student, cultural and religious associations have been incorporated in the solidarity movement. The collection of donations is continuous, internationalist volunteers are going to work in Nicaragua and so forth.

In other words, we proceed from the fact that the merger of the foreign policy efforts of the Mexican Government with the potential of the achievement of the solidarity of the people's masses can and must increase the chances for the successful accomplishment of the main task.

The fate of "our America" is currently at stake on the land of the small and great homeland of Ruben Dario, Augusto Sandino and Carlos Fonseca inasmuch as following his reelection also Reagan has not abandoned the unlawful, immoral policy of state terrorism. American aggression has long been prepared



technically and militarily, which is confirmed by the virtual occupation of Honduras and the massing of the forces of the Southern Command.

For this reason organization of the solidarity of the people's masses with Nicaragua is a vitally important necessity. Defending the Nicaraguan people's right to live in peace is for us a political task of tremendous mobilizing force.

[Question] What, in your view, are the committee's main achievements?

[Answer] Our achievements are as yet modest, but we are operating in the right direction. Our work is based on an organizational structure and action program coordinated at commission level and confirmed by the collegial leadership and general assembly of committee members. We have managed to solve financial questions also. The majority of measures which have been implemented recently have been successful. At meetings in trade union premises, educational institution auditoriums and in certain public centers we have commemorated the anniversaries of memorable events of the Sandinista people's revolution and discussed the work of the Contadora Group, the course of the election campaigns in Nicaragua and the United States, the results of the elections and their consequences and also other topical problems. We have also participated in various solidarity meetings, festivals and marches. We have gained greater access to the mass media and consolidated our relations with state establishments. Furthermore, we have endeavored within the committee to raise the level of work aimed at deepening the understanding of the Sandinista people's revolution, which is distinctive, but which inspires us to the struggle. Seminars and conferences have been held and a monthly bulletin published for this purpose.

[Question] How has the growth of the United States' aggressiveness in respect of Nicaragua been reflected in the position of MAFUENIC?

[Answer] We intend to do everything within our power to prevent the realization of imperialism's goals. If the Reagan administration is torpedoing the proposals of the Contadora Group, it is necessary to secure for them nationwide support; if it is evading negotiations in Manzanillo, it is necessary to resort to measures which will compel it not only to resume the negotiations but also conduct them within the framework of a dialogue of equal parties without any threats to use force; if imperialism is building up arms in Honduras and Costa Rica given a simultaneous increase in the number of provocative military maneuvers directly on the border with Nicaragua, it is necessary to step up the struggle for disarmament in Central America and for a halt to U.S. interference in the internal affairs of the states of this region; if the Reagan administration is blocking foreign trade channels and attempting time and again in the United States itself to impart a "legal" basis to its criminal undeclared war, ignoring the decisions and recommendations of international organizations, it is again necessary not to retreat one step from the noble and just intention to expose the illegality and criminal nature of this policy.

[Question] What can you say about your committee's relations with kindred organizations of other countries?

[Answer] Our relations are growing. After all, the Sandinista people's revolution is not an isolated process occurring in an individual small country. For this reason its defense is the duty and obligation not only of Nicaraguans but of all peoples, including the Mexican people.

Our committee believes that we must primarily aspire to a deepening of the MAFUENIC's ties to the organizations related to us in the Contadora Group countries, then with the increasingly numerous, despite the fact that they are often subject to persecution, solidarity organizations in the United States itself. Of course, we must also work in concert with other Latin American and European countries, among which we should perhaps distinguish Spain. Furthermore, we must strengthen relations with the WPC--the international movement of peace supporters, to whose activity unprecedented significance is attached today--and also with other international organizations contributing to the emergence of Asian and African countries in the international arena.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

BOOK REVIEW: CUBA IN WORLD POLITICS

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[M.I. Mokhnachev review of "Cuba in World Politics"]

[Text] The new scientific work of E.A. Grinevich and B.I. Gvozdev\* is devoted to a study of Cuba's role in world politics. The book examines the international significance of the Cuban revolution, its place in the world revolutionary process and the historic accomplishments of the Cuban people, who are building a socialist society. An analysis of the country's domestic policy serves as a logical basis for the authors' revelation of the main principles and directions of the Island of Freedom's foreign policy. Both in terms of the range of problems and the source-study and factological base this work is of an encyclopedic nature.

The authors show convincingly that the ties of fraternity between Cuba and the Soviet Union are an example of socialist internationalism in action. Analyzing Soviet-Cuban cooperation in the sphere of economic relations, science and technology and culture on the basis of a vast amount of factual material, they refer to the material of the First Cuban CP Congress, which emphasized: "The central place in our party's foreign policy is occupied by the indestructible alliance..., which has enabled the Cuban people, who have displayed heroism and high consciousness, to fully uphold national independence and the gains of the revolution" (p 91).

The work also examines the relations between Cuba and the other socialist countries. A qualitatively new stage began in the development of Cuba's economic relations with the socialist community states with its joining of CEMA. It is characterized by, in particular, assistance in the development and an increase in the efficiency of the economy and the creation of the conditions for deriving the maximum advantages from Cuba's participation in the international socialist division of labor (pp 152-153).

Mutual relations with the Latin American countries were and remain an important direction of socialist Cuba's foreign policy course. Cuba's systematic efforts to expand contacts and relations with these countries and its resolute

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\* "Kuba v mirovoy politike" [Cuba in World Politics], Moscow, "Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya", 1984, p 576.

struggle against the aggressive policy of the U.S. Administration and in defense of sovereign Nicaragua and the independence of other peoples are having as their logical consequence a growth of the respect for and prestige of Cuba in the region. "...Cuba supports the acts of the governments of a number of Latin American states which are objectively in the channel of the anti-imperialist struggle and are aimed both at the preservation of international peace and the defense of national interests against the encroachments of the imperialist powers or their agents," the authors write. "At the same time it emphatically condemns the policy of regimes which have taken the path of unscrupulous compromise with imperialism and which are operating in defiance of the interests of their own peoples" (p 168).

The monograph examines in detail such important problems as Cuba's cooperation and solidarity with the Asian and African developing countries, its role in the nonaligned movement and international organizations and the principles of Cuba's mutual relations with the developed capitalist countries and their practical realization.

On the basis of a great amount of factual material the authors criticize the adventurist policy of the U.S. Administration in respect of the Island of Freedom. It is clear from the book that Washington's anti-Cuba policy represents a most flagrant violation of the rules of international law.

The study is supplied with valuable appendices on the establishment and resumption of the Republic of Cuba's diplomatic relations and effective bilateral treaties and agreements which it concluded with other states in the period from 1959 through 1982.

In the preface to the book Lionel Soto, member of the Cuban CP Central Committee Secretariat and ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Cuba to the USSR, emphasized that the work of the Soviet authors represents a new manifestation of Soviet people's feelings of friendship toward the Cuban people reflecting the fraternal relations of the two peoples, our countries' communist parties and governments and also their public and scientific circles.

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

REVIEW OF ECONOMIC-STATISTICAL HANDBOOK ON DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 9, Sep 85 p 144

[A.R. review of "Economic Groupings of the Developing Countries. Economico-Statistical Handbook"]

[Text] The economico-statistical handbook "Economic Groupings of the Developing Countries,"\* which was prepared by V. V. Shmelev, well-known Soviet specialist in the sphere of the integration of the developing states, contains information on the essence, purposes, structure, legal status, methods and results of the activity of trading blocs and organizations for the construction of joint facilities and the creation of currency unions and other economic groupings. In addition, it presents theoretical conclusions concerning the pathways and forms of integration and also adduces information of an applied nature (estimates of the economic potential of the organizations, their administrative structure, fields of activity and so forth) important for determining the prospects of a strengthening of interregional integration ties.

The statistical and theoretical material on the Andes Pact, CARICOM and other subregional integration groupings, the LAI and SELA and also on regional and interregional credit-finance organizations will be of particular interest to Latin American scholars.

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\* V.V. Shmelev, "Ekonomicheskiye gruppirovki razvivayushchikhsya stran. Ekonomiko-statisticheskiy spravochnik" [Economic Groupings of the Developing Countries. Economico-Statistical Handbook], Moscow, "Mysl'," 1984, p 214.

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CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

PHILIPPINE RESENTMENT OF U.S. POLICY HIGHLIGHTED

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Oct 85 p 5

[Article by I. Kovalev, IZVESTIYA Manila correspondent: "Greater Manila Day"]

[Text] The fact that Manila, the capital of the Philippines, is a maritime city can be felt only along Rojas Boulevard, which stretches along Manila Bay toward the port north of the Pasig River and in the small fishing settlements near the airport. The nearness of the sea is no longer felt a short distance from the shore, in the web of the streets of this capital.

The capital is clearly divided into several dissimilar districts. This is understandable, for Greater Manila is the result of the merger of several cities. Manila proper is its core. Here, on the southern bank of the Pasig River, are the ruins of the Intramuros fortress, which was built by the Spanish colonizers in the 16th century. The low massive walls of the fort which currently houses the museum to Jose Risal, the Philippine national hero, the ancient church and a few houses of Spanish grandees remind one of the colonial past. Everything else was swept off by American bombs and shells toward the end of World War II, when the Japanese occupation troops were being chased out of the fortress.

A modern sight--the Philippine Cultural Center--a house standing on reclaimed land at the end of Manila Bay, is within the city's administrative limits. This beautiful complex includes a building for theatre and concert performances, an exhibition stand, conference facilities, an exposition, and the only state owned hotel in the capital. Crowds of citizens gather on Sundays on the vast green meadows surrounding the center. They come here to picnic with their children. These are mainly not well to do people, who have no cottages with swimming pools of their own. Modestly prosperous people also like to visit Risal Park located nearby, where a monument to Jose Risal, the national hero, who was shot by the Spaniards in 1896, stands.

A distinctive "Chinatown" is on the other bank of the Pasig. The Spanish colonizers had thrown out of the Intramuros territory Chinese people who had settled around the estuary of the Pasig as early as the 10th century and placed them here. The Chinese districts have narrow streets and humped bridges crossing the canals and the most convenient type of transportation here is a two-wheeled horse cart. Hundreds of taverns and apothecaries selling medicinal herbs occupy the ground floors of the buildings. Vendors of exotic fish spread their live merchandise directly on the sidewalk, in

cellophane bags filled with water. Business is brisk in the evening in the small restaurants where people meet to make deals or for a friendly talk.

It is only in the business districts, such as Macati, where helicopter landing pads stand on top of skyscrapers, Dasmaringes and Forbes Park, with the fashionable town houses and the relatively new Green Hill district with its straight streets named after U.S. presidents, that create the impression that Manila is a prospering city of rich people. Actually, according to BUSINESS DAY, the Manila newspaper, 75 percent of the more than 8-million population in the city do not earn a subsistence wage. One fifth of the city's population is unemployed, and one third of the employed population works part-time only. According to official statistics, 20 percent of the Manila population either huddle in slums or sleep in night shelters. The poor districts in Manila are all alike. Here we see the traces of neglect and chronic lack of funds in houses which have long lost their initial appearance, squeezed against each other, dirty streets and pitiful "sari-sari" little stores.

One of the worst of the many problems of the city is that of the "squatters," i.e., people who have built a shed or simply put a cover over their heads, made of plywood, tin plate or cardboard on state or private land. Manila has 1.6 million "delinquents!" Innumerable such old temporary structures are nestled around the main university complex in Quezon City!

My acquaintances, who were university teachers, told me the history of these slums. Naturally, the university needs servicing personnel such as cleaning women, guards, washer women and repair workers. As a rule, these are migrants from other parts of the country. They have no chance of obtaining any kind of decent housing, for which reason they set up their "bird nests."

Although the "squatters" inconvenience the city authorities a great deal, as a whole, the attitudes of the Manilans toward them is sympathetic. It is as though the feeling of belonging to a "big family," which traditionally includes not only close but even most distant relatives, is extended to the homeless. Despite poverty and the hard work, the "squatters" themselves rarely complain about their fate. They still earn better in the capital than they would in other parts of the country. The authorities in Big Manila try to develop the urban economy within the limits of their financial possibilities which are drastically limited by the current economic crisis. Streets are being paved and water and sewer pipes are being laid. The Cadiva state company sends to the poor districts mobile stores which sell products at prices lower than those charged by private stores. Convenient city-run electric cars were recently introduced. Before them, the Manilans could not even conceive of anything better than the "gods of the city streets"--the smart brightly painted "Jipni" taxicabs. "Jipni" drivers, fruit and vegetable peddlars, fishmongers, workers in petty workshops and port workers have settled in the slums of the Tondo district where the port, which handles 71 percent of the entire freight entering the country and 20 percent of its exports, is located. The most proletarian, however, is the Valenzuela industrial district, where trade unions are active and where they have repeatedly led the working people to strikes. More than anywhere else, Valenzuela has been the arena of class battles.

Nor have political actions spared Manila's business center--Macati. A couple of years ago major opposition party demonstrations were held here. Today such manifestations are rare. In preparing for the presidential elections scheduled for 1987, the bourgeois opposition is focusing on achieving perhaps no more than tactical unity among different groups. However, the way to agreement is blocked by the personal ambitions of the leaders. These days, other type demonstrations might be held in Macati more frequently: striking company and bank employees and demonstrators against intensifying American interference in domestic Philippine affairs. Such marches are held around the U.S. embassy on Rojas Boulevard. The widespread discontent throughout the country caused by the obtrusive mentorial Washington policy and the presence of large Pentagon military bases near Manila is entirely clear. I realized this yet once again at a student theatre performance in a Quezon City college. The audience stormily reacted to the final scene in which the Yankee colonizers got their just desert!

The current Philippine leadership, headed by president Ferdinand Marcos, has ruled the country for nearly 20 uninterrupted years. A state of emergency was proclaimed in 1972 with a view to suppressing left wing and right wing opposition in the republic. It was lifted in 1981. During that period, the government carried out a number of socioeconomic reforms, mainly the redistribution of land in the rice-growing areas among former land-leasing peasants; the rates of economic growth were stabilized, some concessions were extracted from the United States in the restoration of Philippine sovereignty over territories occupied by American military bases and major steps were taken to assert the republic's independence in international policy.

However, this was also a time of ripening of grave economic problems related to the protectionist trade policy of the west, speculative fluctuations of prices of traditional Philippine exports on capitalist markets and a sharp increase in worldwide petroleum prices. Many industrial sectors fell under the control of Western and Japanese companies which were hardly interested in allowing the Philippine economy to stand on its own feet. Large-scales state projects, launched with foreign financing, and specialists, began working at a loss. The country found itself owing about \$26 billion to foreign lenders.

It was indicative that precisely during that difficult period for the country Washington announced its support of the right-wing bourgeois opposition and brought to bear all pressure levers using the International Monetary Fund and other financial institutions, thus basing its "aid" to the Philippines on the elimination of the virtually entire state economic sector. The Philippine leadership, which found itself in an exceptionally difficult situation, was forced to grant numerous concessions.

The patriotic people in the Philippines perfectly realize that Washington's concern for democracy in the Philippines is merely a maneuver aimed at safeguarding its positions in that country.

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

SENATORS ANNOUNCE INVESTIGATION INTO AL-QADHDHAFI PLOT LEAK

LD052232 Moscow TASS in English 2136 GMT 5 Nov 85

[Text] Washington, November 5 (TASS)—Chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Dave Burenberger and vice-chairman Senator Patrick Leahy announced that an investigation is started to establish the source of the "leakage of information" on a secret operation implemented by the CIA for the purpose of toppling the present Libyan Government.

As THE WASHINGTON POST reported, that large-scale and costly operation of the CIA was recently sanctioned by President Reagan. The White House was enraged when the information about it leaked into the press. Actually confirming officially the fact of the implementation of such an action of state terrorism, the President immediately ordered the investigation into the unsanctioned revelation of the secret intelligence information. The same purpose is pursued by the investigation of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

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CSO: 1812/30

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

BAKU CALLS FOR HALT TO IRAN-IRAQ WAR

GF151608 Baku International Service in Azeri 1300 GMT 13 Oct 85

[Unattributed commentary: "The People of Iran Are Under the Heavy Burden of War"]

[Text] Dear listeners, the bloody Iran-Iraq war has been continuing for 6 years. Hundreds of thousands of Iranians and Iraqis--mainly youths who make up the manpower of the two nations--have been and continue to be killed. Although the [word indistinct] of the wall painted in red in Iran's Behesht-e Zahra Cemetery has dried, floods of human blood are still being shed. Funeral ceremonies are held in Iran's cemeteries every day. Youths are buried in these ceremonies. They could have instead become [word indistinct] or doctors, teachers, or oil workers.

The Iran-Iraq war has destroyed an extremely large amount of material wealth. It has disrupted the economies of both Iran and Iraq. Oil fields and the [word indistinct] and equipment in them have been damaged. Large tankers have been set ablaze in the Persian Gulf. The extraction and transportation of oil has become a dangerous affair. The result of all this has been a significant drop in the volume of oil extracted in Iran. According to Western experts, the volume totals no more than 1.5 million bpd. This is two times less than the figure established during the eve of the Islamic revolution in Iran.

Oil production is paying for the compulsory military expenditure made by Iran. According to information in hand, this expenditure totals about \$400 million a month. It is no surprise that funds in Iran for the contemplated capital construction field have been cut. Whatever is required in life is gradually becoming more expensive. The rate of money put into circulation has risen by 50 percent. Experts believe that the falling standard of living will lead to an increased rate of money in circulation and to a rise in cost of living. The treasury aid which was planned last year for [words indistinct] has been cut by 20 percent.

With whose encouragement did the Iran-Iraq war start 5 years ago? This is well known. It started with the provocation of the imperialists. Both the Iranian leaders and press have repeatedly explained the causes of the dispute. The other question is as follows: Who is benefitting from the continuation of the Iran-Iraq war? There is no secret in this. The war is serving imperialism and local reactionaryism.

The United States is greatly using the war as a pretext to interfere in the affairs of the region and consolidate its military presence in the Persian Gulf. A number of plans have been drawn up by the Pentagon for major operations in Iran--operations which also involve the use of nuclear arms. In a recent report, the conservative U.S. (Sherefield) Foundation released information on one of these plans. The authors of the report openly called for blows against Iran and for the bombardment of Iran's cities and industrial cities in the southern sector.

On their part, the local reactionaries in Iran hope to gain from using the war to divert the attention of the society from the most crucial issue encountered by Iran. As such, the death of people at the battlefronts is regarded as martyrdom in the service of religion in Iran.

Dear listeners, we believe that Islam is [words indistinct]. Islam preaches martyrdom only for the attainment of august objectives and within the struggle made for right. This being the case, how can the explosion of mines laid in the Huwayzah marshes and the meaningless continuation of the [word indistinct] be explained? The nearly 6 years that have lapsed have shown that none of the sides in the Iran-Iraq war can achieve a victory.

The United Nations, the World Peace Council, the Nonaligned Movement, the AAPSO, and other international and local organizations have invited Iran and Iraq to sit at the negotiating table. As for the Soviet Union, it sided right at the beginning with the settlement of the Iran-Iraq dispute through peaceful means. The 26th CPSU Congress described the Iran-Iraq war as being a [word indistinct] and meaningless dispute conflicting with the interests of the peoples of Iran and Iraq. It called for the peaceful settlement of the dispute. Even today the Soviet Union still holds the same position.

Here is what Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said in his meeting with French parliamentarians in Paris recently: The need for removing the sources of disputes and tensions is felt much more than ever before.

These words fully apply to the need to extinguish the flame of the Iran-Iraq war which is burning for a 6th year.

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CSO: 1831/404

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

TRADE TIES WITH MIDDLE EAST REVIEWED

LD231115 Moscow TASS in English 1017 GMT 23 Oct 85

[Text] Moscow October 23 TASS--by TASS economic desk.

A broad range of issues of the further development of trade and economic co-operation between the Soviet Union and the Syrian Arab Republic was considered yesterday at the State Committee of the USSR for Foreign Economic Relations during bilateral talks. The Syrian delegation to the talks was headed by First Deputy Minister for Planning Hamid Mirey. Deputy chairmen of the State Committee took part in the talks from the Soviet side.

At present, a TASS correspondent learned at the Committee for Economic Relations, the two countries have jointly built and are building a total of about 70 economic projects in Syria. 38 of them have already been made operational, work is under way on another 28. Among the cooperation projects are electric power plants, including the Middle East's largest Euphrates hydro-engineering unit, railways, and oil-fields. Joint work is being carried out on building irrigation systems and electric power transmission lines, and developing land.

The Soviet Union will extend technical assistance to Algeria in carrying out work at the iron and steel plant in El-Hajar. The Soviet foreign trade association Tyazhpromexport, in particular, signed a multi-million contract with its Algerian partners, under which Soviet organizations will repair on a general-contract basis a blast furnace. The USSR will provide necessary equipment and materials, will assign experts.

The Soviet Union will supply 5,000 Minsk-15 home refrigerators to the United Arab Emirates. The deliveries will be completed before the end of 1985. They are covered by a contract signed between the Soviet foreign trade association Technointorg and the M.T.E. Middle East Company.

Technointorg delivers home machines and appliances to other Arab states, specifically to Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon and Syria.

The USSR cooperates with the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen in the developing the republic's agriculture. According to several contracts signed recently, the foreign trade association Selkhozpromexport will continue



cooperation in this area with its partners in the PDRY. The USSR will send experts to participate in the reclamation of land and construction of water-supply, irrigation and other projects.

Trade and economic relations between the USSR and Tunisia are developing. Cooperations between the two countries in ship-repairing has become traditional. This year, orders have been placed with the Tunisian shipyard Socomena for the repair of 12 Soviet vessels--tugs, tankers, rescue vessels. Nine ships have been repaired, the repair of the others is continuing.

Last year, the Soviet foreign trade association Sudoimport signed contracts with the Socomena shipyard for ship repairs with about three million rubles.

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